

Diaries of Julia Wilbur, 1861

Originals at Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections Transcriptions by volunteers at Alexandria Archaeology

The transcribed pages that follow are from the diaries kept by Julia Wilbur, an abolitionist from Rochester, New York, who lived in Alexandria, Virginia, from October 1862 to February 1865. She moved to Washington, DC, where she lived until her death in 1895.

This file contains entries from 1861.

The diaries are in the form of packets of paper that she assembled and dated as she went along, approximately 4 by 7 inches. The diaries go from 1844 to 1873. (She also kept journals, which were smaller, pre-printed, leather-bound booklets, one per year through 1895.)

In a cooperative effort between Haverford and Alexandria Archaeology, pages of the diaries were scanned in Summer 2013 (March 7, 1860, through the early 1870s). Alexandria Archeology volunteers transcribed from March 7, 1860, through July 3, 1866.

Acknowledgments

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Key

Each diary page is one scanned file and was transcribed in Microsoft Word. In order to avoid having more than one thousand individual Word files, they are compiled as follows:

- A PDF of the entire period
- Seven PDFs by year (1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, and 1866)

For those wishing to consult the originals, the ID numbers given to different sections scanned by Haverford are footnoted in regular intervals throughout the documents.

Some common things that readers will encounter:

- Dates are centered. Note that Wilbur did not consistently date the entries (i.e., month, date, year) and we have recorded them as she did (e.g., Sunday the 19th)
- Many different types of dashes, underlines, and hyphens were used to indicate breaks in thought. For consistency, we have used an em-dash (—) throughout.
- Where she crossed something out or underlined it, we did, too.
- Spellings as written (e.g., “staid” for “stayed”; “ancle” for “ankle”)
- &c. means “etc.” It was a commonly used convention of the time, even appearing in newspaper headlines. “And” is usually represented by an ampersand (&).
- Where multiple transcribers/proofreaders were not able to decipher all or part of a word, we have indicated with [?]. Where Wilbur left a blank space or some other unusual thing, we have inserted an italicized *Transcriber’s note*.

If you use these files and encounter an error, please let us know so we can correct it in the next iteration.

Wilbur also kept parallel, smaller pocket diaries, the originals of which are at Haverford as well. They were separately transcribed, compiled, and annotated by Paula Whitacre for Alexandria Archeology in 2011-2012, using microfilmed versions in the Local History Collection at the Alexandria Public Library.

¹Rush. Tuesday. Jan. 1st. 1861.

A New Year has commenced[?] once more. A day of rejoicing to many I suppose. This morning I did not feel well. This A.M. I wrote some, & this P.M. I rode out & it has done me good. I went to Mr. Hartwell's & saw Frances, I took dinner & towards night Alvira came home with me.

Frances is acting with reference to leaving Avon, & is comforted with the thought that she will once more have a home of their own. & we do hope that Abner will be contented & do well & that they may have a pleasant home once more.—Frances will try to see Freda before she goes to Hartland. I do so hope she will succeed. If I could only go too! but I suppose it would be useless for me to attempt it.—

Did not get a letter from Ella as I hoped. Poor girl, she may be gone from us before another year comes round.—

This evening have written to Angeline & Mary. This A.M. there was a high wind; this P.M. it has been quite pleasant, & not very cold. The wheeling is very good.

Wednesday Jan. 2^d. 1861.

A bright pleasant day, the first for a long time. It has thawed some. A nice day to ride out. This A.M. did various things. This P.M. I took Alvira home & called at Harvey B's, & to see Margaret, who is failing fast. & I think she has but a few days to live. Poor uncared for, friendless girl. She had better have stayed in Ireland & died among her kindred. Called at Uncle Jephthas & spent an hour or two. This evening read to father. he has been quite unwell to day. Mr. & Mrs. Batchelor have visited here this P.M. am tired to night & shall go to bed early.

Jan. 3^d. 1861.

Foggy. I have been to Harvey B's. Enjoyed the walk. Every thing is covered with crystallized ice. Every tree, & shrub, & weed by the roadside, is perfectly beautiful. I never saw anything like it before. not merely ice, but crystals white as snow—like an enchanted scene, a fairy world!

Saturday Jan. 5th.

Housework nearly all day. Henry & A. gone to city. D. Buck & wife have been here. Expect Charlotte & the children. It is 53 weeks since my darling was taken from us. Yesterday was appointed by Pres. Buchanan for a National Fast.

Monday Jan. 7th. 1861

About 1 O'clock yesterday Charlotte & Mr. Griffin came. I was very glad to see them. After dinner I went with them to Mr. H's & saw Abner & Frances awhile. Then went to Uncle Ephraim's & staid all night. A. & Fr. spent the evening there.

Had letter from Ella. She is a little better. Came from Uncle E's this morning. Mr G. & C. staid here but a few minutes & then left for home.

¹ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans 13-26050_068 to 13-26050_096 in their Folder entitled Aug. 22nd 1860 to Mar. 11th 1861.

Since then I have washed & worked in the cellar and done various other things. am now very tired. Read this eve a sermon by Mr. Bellows & one by Beecher, both preached last Friday. Capital ones too.—

Sunday Jan 13th. 1861

A bright day, but the coldest we have had this winter. no one goes to meeting. On Friday night it snowed a little so that there is sleighing. Yesterday it was excessively cold. but H. went to city with poultry.

We have not been to the P. Office in 3 or 4 days. & have had no news for a week, & New York may be out of the Union for aught I know. Nobody been here during the week. The country may all go to ruin & we know nothing about it in this out-of-the-way place. To morrow we must try to get the news anyhow.

Have been reading Dr. Livingston's Travels in Africa. & have worked a little & wrote several letters during the week. Have not heard from Ella in two weeks. It was 54 weeks yesterday since my darling was taken from us. & it was so dreadful once to have her away even one week!

Rush. Jan. 14th. Monday

Washed & ironed & cleaned & read news, & am ready to go to city tomorrow, Henry has brought over so much from the office. Cousin Kate sends me Uncle Cornelius's picture. It is very like him, & I prize it very much, for he is a dear old Uncle.

Tuesday Jan. 15th

Mother took me to W. Avon in the cutter. Called to see Frances on the way. Have spent the day at Mr. Winans. This morning walked over to the burying ground. Towards evening Mr. & Mrs. Barnard came. I have read the news & visited.

Wednesday Jan. 16th.

Rained all night & some to day & I thought I had rather stay here than go to the city. Read Seward's speech, made a doll's dress & visited very pleasantly. I slept none last night, still I feel better for seeing company & reading the news &c.

Rochester Jan 17th. 1861

Very stormy. Left Avon at 10 this morning. Called at the Industrial School & saw their arrangements & learned their operations. Think they need help more than the Home, Left baggage at John's store. Saw Uncle Esek awhile, & spent rest of day at Silas Cornell's. I enjoy the company of Sarah Cornell & Anna Barnes as much as any other acquaintances I have. Refined & intelligent as they are I always feel better for being with them.

Took tea at Charlotte's & saw the children. This evening have been with Mr. G. & C. to Cor. Hall. I never admired Doesticks, & this lecture did not please me very much. Yet many were suited exactly, & expressed their pleasure, but at times a part of the

audience seemed wondering what the rest were laughing at. The subject was "Pluck or Paddle your own Canoe". It showed no originality.

Friday Jan. 18th. Rochester

Last night staid at C's, slept with sis. This morning called on Mrs. C. to return her books. Called at Savings Bank to deposit $\$104.13 + \$0.87 = \$105$.—

Spent rest of day at Mrs. Fogg's. & had a very good visit with herself & daughters. Borrowed "T. Parker's Experience" & "Marble Faun."

Saturday Jan. 19th.

Very cold & windy. Staid at C's last night. Went to Mrs. Knickerbocker this A.M., a long slippery walk; rode back & run over an old man. I cd. not stop although I wished to do so. I think he must have been considerably hurt. The man who was with me showed no concern for the accident.

This P.M. went to Irondequoit with Benjamin.—Find Aunt Elizabeth quite lame but glad to see me. They all feel badly about Benjamin's failure. It is bad it is true, but not the worst trouble that cd. happen.

Irondequoit Jan. 21st.

Yesterday & to day have been very cold. Have done little but visit, & read "Mary Barton" & the news.

Tuesday Jan. 22^d.

Came to city with Benjamin. Visited at Dr. Kendrick's. Enjoyed it much. The sleighing is fine although there is hardly any snow. The streets are very icy. I have taken a long walk & this evening finds me at Uncle Eseck's at No. 9 Ambrose st. & quite tired too.

Wednesday Jan. 23^d.

This A.M. went from Uncle E's to Dr. Lewis Heard's, where I spent most of the day with my old friends Mrs. H. & Mrs. Winans. To night finds me at C's with the children. C. has a letter from Frances.

Thursday Jan 24th.

Rainy. Called on Mrs. C. to return books. Spent the day at John R's. This evening

have been to Uncle E's with John & wife, Charlotte & Mr. G & Mary Julia. & to night finds me at John's. I am yet tired of visiting & wish I was at home.

Rush Saturday Jan. 26th

Yesterday was cold & slippery. In the P.M. I went with C. to school. but sis and Ned had nothing to do. Dinner at C's. At 6 P.M. left on the train for Avon & staid at Mr[s?] W's all night. This morning Mother came for me in the buggy. & we called to see Frances. She is pleased with the prospect of going to housekeeping. but she is worried & annoyed so much that I fear she will be down sick.—

Things at home have not improved. It is lonely & any thing but pleasant here.

I am nearly discouraged.

Letters from Joseph, Angeline & Mary. Mary has been to see Elma & I am glad that she has done so.

Rush. Jan 27th. Sunday.

Mother & I have been to E.A. to Mrs. Warren's funeral, & heard Mr. Nott preach a very stupid sermon. It did me no good. Since then have been writing. John Hillman here to dinner.

Rush Jan. 31st.

Oh! dear! The prospect now is that I shall be turned away from my home. If my father was not old & childish I could hardly forgive him.

Went to Avon this A.M. with father, saw Frances a little while. It is has been very cold to day

Feb. 2^d. 1861. Saturday

Rainy, much of the ice has melted off. Think we shall have no more sleighing. Henry & Ann gone with I. Austin.

Have been reading 'Marble Faun' & 'Love me Little Love me Long'. Perhaps it is a waste of time, but what else shall I do?

Oh, such a week. What I have

been dreading will all be done. If we live we are to continue in this miserable way. I think my father is very unwise to think of going on so any longer, but I find I can't help it. I must submit yet longer to insult & arrogance. My sisters will not come here while Ann lives here, & I can enjoy no society here for those I care most about will keep away, Oh! such a deplorable state of things, yet I intend to stay here yet awhile, I feel that this is my place, & if it were not, where should I go? What should I do? I cannot give up my home & what belongs here to a person who has no claim to my respect, at least until I am forced to do so. My own dear mother lived & died here. My dear sister Sarah lived & died here. My darling Freda once lived here a happy child. My brothers & sisters have all lived here & it was once a pleasant

home. Suffering as well as pleasure has made it dear & almost sacred to me. I am nearer Freda here than I wd. be elsewhere. I am nearer too to that spot which is designed for our last resting. & where some of our loved ones already sleep. I do not think father shares in these feelings. He never seemed attached to any place. & cannot understand why others should be. He sees no reason why I should not be as comfortable in any other place as in this. He does not know that to leave it would be like tearing up the roots of my life. I forgive him for he cannot understand me. It is nevertheless hard to bear. I must make up my mind to do without sympathy at home, although I need it so much. I must do without

society too, & I must endure the presence of those who apparently hate me. But in spite of all this I think I shall stay at home.

It is 57 weeks since my darling was taken from me. Oh! dear. oh! dear. A few nights since I dreamed I heard the patter of her little feet in the sitting room. & her little voice saying pleasant words to Grandpa & I had a glimpse of her as she was when she left us. But how is this? I heard the sound of her feet so plainly? Was it all a dream? Could I know that she thinks of me still!

Sunday Feb. 3^d.

Quite cold. I have walked to Avon & back. for the first time I think. I have enjoyed the walk. It is icy, in some places & smooth & hard most of the way. The air is refreshing, & it is better than to remain in the house all day, although I am some tired. I heard Mr. Nott this A.M. & Mr. Elmore this P.M. but my mind was preoccupied; so the preaching did me no good. Saw Frances. She & Abner came

from Rochester last night.

I learn that Revilo & his wife have been to Harvey's, staid only a short time. & my darling was not with them. Harvey told Frances that they do not take Freda to church this winter. & that "the wife is ten times worse than Revilo." Of course I have had no reply to the letter I wrote R. on the 31st of Dec. 1860. Indeed I hardly expect it.

This P.M. called at Leland's & took dinner, & came home at dusk, some tired, but none the worse for it.

Rush. Feb 5th. Tuesday.

Oh. what a pleasant day! I have been to Harvey B's, & Mrs. Arner's[?], & Mrs. Daileys. Met Gertrude Boughton & old scholar of mine, now a very pleasant & sensible young woman. Revilo & wife have been to Harvey's. Made but a short call. Freda was not with them. They said she was well, does not go to school this winter.

Harvey says "it is of no use for Frances to try to see her. R. & wife do not relent at all, & the wife is worse than Revilo."—

It is 48 weeks since I have seen my darling. If some one of us could go to her! but I can only dream of her now.

Sunday Feb. 10th.

Last Wednesday Henry & Ann started for Kendall, to be gone a week or more.

Thursday was a tempestuous day, very cold, snowed & blew terribly.

Friday was the coldest day of the season. Mercury 10 or 12 deg. below zero.

Towards night Henry came with the mail. They have been staying at J. Hillman's & will start for Kendall tomorrow on the cars. All the snow is in drifts so that there was neither wheeling nor sleighing.

Saturday, weather quite moderate. With little gray & the cutter I went to Avon for Frances. H & Ann are away now,

& Frances has come home, she thinks for the last time while they live here. I can't blame her for this, as much as I would like to have her here. She cannot endure the sight of Ann, & I cannot blame her for this either. Ann has destroyed Frances's happiness for life, & has well nigh ruined her husband. It is dreadful to think she must live here in our house after doing all this. No prospect of comfort here.

Today it is bright & warm & the snow is melting very fast. I have been to take Frances back, but the sleighing is gone. I called at Uncle J's & took tea. Have had headache all day, & to night it aches very badly.

Tuesday Feb. 12th.

The morning was so beautiful, warm & bright. I went to the Falls. The rapid thaw has swollen the stream & there is quite a fine cascade. But I was alone, I could

not enjoy it, for

How oft I've stood here
With friends that were dear;
For oh! 'tis not merely a dream!
But of loved ones bereft,
Alone I am left,
And I weep as I gaze on the stream.
The scenes of the past
Come gathering fast
O'er memory's swift-rushing tide:
And though nature is gay,
I turn sadly away,
For my loved ones are not by my side.
It is 49 weeks since I have seen
My darling, my loved Freda, my precious one.
But now while I write,
The skies lately so bright
Are threatening a deluge of rain;
Like the joys that are past
They were too bright to last
And cold blasts are blowing again.—
This evening I have been writing to Mary Julia

Rush Feb. 17th. 1861. Sunday.

Last night snow fell to the depth of several inches, & it now looks very wintry again. but today is bright & not very cold.

During the week housework has occupied a large share of my time. I have read 'Nemesis' by Marion Harland. Like it pretty well, but the close is quite too tragical & some of the events improbable.—

Thursday was cold & rough, but I went for Aunt Eliza & she went with me to Mr. Hartwell's & made a visit.—

Yesterday had a letter from Ella. She is no better probably. Her cough grows worse, She can sit up about two hours during the day, but cannot bear her weight on her feet.—

It was 59 wks, yesterday since my darling was taken from me. It is dreadful to think of it & feel that it is so. I had a long dream of her last night. She was so sweet & pretty & good.

Rush. Feb. 24th. 1861.

Tempestuous weather. No going to church. It has been quiet & pleasant within because our Irishman has gone. I have written considerable & read some for father. Through the week I have done housework & have written several letters, & read the papers. Nobody has been here, & it is a dull way of living.

Tuesday I went to Avon with father in a sleigh. poor sleighing—

Friday. I called at Mary T's then went to Avon. Frances came back with me & staid about two hours. We then called at Harvey B's, & I took her part way home. Sleighing better than it was the other day. Abner & Frances intend to leave next Tuesday for their place in Hartland.—

Yesterday father & mother went to Avon. The snow was melting very fast.—It was 60 wks. yesterday since my darling was taken from me. I dream of her often lately. oh! dear.

Tuesday Feb. 26th. 1861.

Yesterday washed & worked hard & wrote some. Today I feel almost sick, have a bad headache. My sleep last night did not refresh or rest me. I dreamed so much of Freda. I was trying to carry her through difficult places. & once she called so earnestly for me to take her. Then I went to R's & saw her & dressed her, & dressed Mabel too. & I thought sister Sarah was with me there, & she was not well, & they sat down to dinner & did not ask us, & the wife was very disagreeable, & R. was hard & cold.—Freda was the same dear, sweet little thing as ever.

Since she went it seems almost a age,
For so much I've suffered since then,-
The past comes back so vividly
That I live it o'er again.
I never can forget the anguish
I suffered both night & day,
When I saw all my hopes departing,
Ere my darling was taken away.

And when my little dear one
Was taken from my sight,
And torn from me so cruelly,
My day seemed turned to night.

Sad and gloomy and lonesome
Has been the time since then;
The sunshine has all departed,
I ne'er can be happy again.

Since I held in these arms my darling,
A year has almost fled;
I've begged but in vain to see her,
And my hopes are well nigh dead.

Could I know that she thinks of "Aunty,"
Could I know that she loves me yet!
Oh! the thought is very hard to bear
That she will her friends forget.

When friends make kind inquiries,
I've nothing hopeful to tell,
For very seldom a word I hear
From her that I love so well.

Oh! this sad & weary waiting!
How long. oh! Lord how long?
Must our darling, little motherless one
Endure this cruel wrong?

The clouds that closed around me—
They are dark & gloomy yet!
Have they no silver lining?
Has hope's star forever set?

—
The 31st. of December
Shall ever most sacred be
To the memory of my little one,
My darling Freda B.—

Rush. March 4th. 1861. Monday

Windy. real March weather.

Washed, & ironed, & washed dishes, & did various other things. Am very tired tonight. Mary & Leland here to tea. Henry & A. have been away nearly all day.

Frances & Abner went last Tuesday. They had two pleasant days to ride, since then the weather has been very bad.

On Wednesday I went to Mr. Hartwell's They were feeling very bad about Abner's leaving. I then went to Wm. J. Harris's & spent the rest of the day. Alvira came in the P.M. & I brought her back. quite muddy. Yesterday morning it was very fine, but in the P.M. it rained. I went to the falls. They are very pretty now, but it is lonely there. I have read 'Theodore Parker's Experience' again. There is something very fascinating in his writings, although I am not learned enough to understand them fully.

This has been an anxious day for thousands. Lincoln is to be inaugurated, & fears are entertained that he will be assassinated. oh. what a state of things. What slavery has reduced us to! Well, the end must come some time.

March 5th. Tuesday. 1861.

It is 52 weeks since I have seen my darling Freda. oh dear! oh dear!

How have I lived through it all?

March 6th. Wednesday.

Very cold & stormy. I have been upstairs quilting alone all day, & now I am tired & sad & dispirited.

One year ago to day is the last time I have seen my darling. & what a day of suffering that was. I could not believe then that I should be so long without seeing her. It is well that we cannot see the future. I have lived hoping for better times. but they have not come yet.

Friday March 8th. 1861.

High wind. Yesterday morning at zero. warmer to day—

To night finds me at Mr. Winans. The first time I ever walked to W. Avon. I got my feet wet & called at Mr. Barber's & changed my shoes & put on rubbers. It has thawed so much that in some places it is quite muddy. It is a long walk, but father thought the roads were so rough that it wd. not do to go in a buggy. Instead of that the roads are not very bad. I stopped in the burying ground awhile, & a terrible sense of loneliness came over me; it seemed not a hard thing then to lie down with those pale sleepers & leave the world to others who choose to struggle & live on.—The snowdrops on baby's grave are budded in spite of the snow & the cold. I cannot realize that 3 years have almost gone since sister Sarah was laid there, but so it is. My little darling is nearly five years old.

Saturday March 9th. 1861. Rochester.

Today my father is 74 years old. Of course we cannot expect him to remain with us many years longer.

It snowed last night, but it thaws & it is very sloppy now. I left Avon at 10 & got here about 11. I called on Mrs. Fogg & Mrs. Cowles to return their borrowed books. Then went to C's store & home with her to dinner. Find them all pretty well. Seems good to see sis again. Took tea with Miss Sargent.

Sunday March 10th.

Cold & bright. Staid at C's last night. To day have visited with C. & the children We have looked over the Daguerreotypes, & Mary J's papers & read her letters from her father & Aunt Sarah & Aunt Fanny & others. It has been very pleasant to sit down together & talk of the past & have this quiet, social interview with Charlotte & sis & Neddy—

This alone has paid me for coming here. Mr. Griffin has been out most of the day.

Towards night I went to Mrs. Coleman's, & this evening I have been with her to hear Parker Pillsbury at Zion's Church. I liked his lecture exceedingly. Douglass spoke & Susan B. Anthony also, & Mrs. Coleman too. It is so long since I have attended an Anti Slavery meeting that I have enjoyed this very much. The colored church is the only place they could get to hold a meeting. It was quiet & well attended for so short a notice. P.P. spoke of the Republican Party, of Seward, of the Bible, of the church, of the North, of the South. He said Lincoln was elected by the votes of 1,100,000 able bodied men, not women or children, & yet in Washington he has to have a body guard to protect his life. He could not go openly & by day light to the capital of the country; but sneaked through on the underground R. road between the going down of the sun & the rising of the same. Thinks we had better lay a double track to prevent collisions.

Douglass thought all that Pillsbury said was true, but could not give the South credit for as much bravery as P. did.

Discussion followed about attending proslavery churches. Miss Anthony blames D. for attending Plymouth Church.—Mr. D. gave his reasons &c. Mrs. Coleman brought Susan up standing. Some think she was a little malicious. I saw many familiar faces & it seemed like old times, & I enjoyed it much.

Monday 11th.

Came home with Mrs. Coleman last night. She told me of Miss Assing, the German lady Frances & I saw at F.D.'s last summer. She translated "My Bondage & my Freedom" into German. Her Uncle Van Ense was the intimate friend of Humboldt. Their private correspondence has lately been published by Ludmilla Assing, a sister of her that I saw at D's last summer.

Mrs. C. says "Miss A. is an Atheist, but a talented woman; her love of adventure brought her to America. Her Uncle Hagen Van Ense died 2 yrs. ago & left her \$10,000. so that she is independent now.—

Mrs. C. is a thoroughgoing, uncompromising, double dyed, genuine Abolitionist. I can't go with her in every thing.

This A.M. spent an hour in No 11. Then went to Fanny Dyer's—Called on Miss Walker; & then to Mrs. Hall's & took tea & spent the evening.

Mrs. H. is the antipodes of Mrs. Coleman. She is no abolitionist, despises 'niggers' & Douglass in particular.

She thinks "women are inferior to men. Boys know more than girls. Women are not capable of understanding the sciences, their judgement is inferior to man's" &c. &c. I told her that there is not one man in a hundred who would get along as well as she does if left alone like her. She teaches, keeps house, takes care of three children & keeps several boarders. & yet she asserts woman is inferior to man.—

March 11th. 1861.—

Diary.²

Rochester.

March. Teusday[sic]. 12th. 1861.

Cloudy, comfortable day. very stormy evening. This P.M. Mrs. Coleman went with me to Frederick Douglass' & we took tea with all his family & spent the evening. It was a very pleasant & interesting visit. Mrs. Watkies & Mrs. Blackhall & Gerty C. were there.

There was sensible and lively conversation & music. Mrs. D. although an uneducated black woman appeared as well, & did the part of hostess as efficiently as the generality of white women.

The daughter Rosa is as pleasant & well informed & well behaved as girls in general who have only ordinary advantages of education.

The sons Lewis, Freddy, & Charles, aged 21, 19 & 17 respectively, are uncommonly dignified & gentlemanly young men.

They are sober & industrious & are engaged in the grocery business. F. Douglass is away from home much of the time engaged in lecturing. He continues a Monthly Paper & of course it takes a part of his time. It will be one year tomorrow since his little daughter Annie died under such painful circumstances, & they all feel her loss very much. Apprehensions for her father's safety, & grief for his absence caused her death. She was a promising child. She was 11 years of age.

Captain John Brown seized the Arsenal of Harper's Ferry Oct. 16. 1859 He was hung Dec. 2^d. 1859 at Charlestown a few miles from Harper's Ferry.—The spring before before I was at an Anti Slavery in Corinthian Hall. Douglass gave the audience to

² Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26051_001 to HC13-26051_033 in their Folder entitled March 12, 1861 to September 20, 1861.

understand that some thing in behalf of the slave wd. be attempted at some time not very distant. He spoke of Mason & Dixon's line, said

help would be needed, & when Anti Slavery folks were asked for money, he hoped they wd. give it & ask no questions. I had almost forgotten this when the astounding news came of J. Brown's invasion of Virginia.

I read all the conflicting opinions about Brown, & felt that I knew but little about him or his motives, or who was implicated with him.

To day's visit has enlightened me. I have heard all about it from one who knows & participated in all previous to the seizure of the Arsenal. This D. as well as others considered unwise, imprudent and dangerous. but they cd. not convince Brown of this.— John Brown was at F. Douglass' 7 weeks at one time. & was there again just before the taking of Harper's Ferry. D's family knew him well. Brown impressed every one with a sense of his superiority, of his stern sense of duty.

Shields Green, was a fugitive. he had passed through Rochester & been helped to Canada. But he came back to Douglass & wanted to stay there & work.

D's family all liked him & he was there several weeks. His bearing was so noble & majestic that he was always called Emperor. He was kind & gentle & little Annie liked him. D. told him it was a great risk & he wd. probably lose his life if he joined John Brown. But Emperor was willing to run the risk & was ready to meet death.—& he did meet it nobly on the Gallows. His only words on his trial were "I was born in Carolina & I came from New York." He did not betray his friends, but was true to the last.

In the western part of Virginia are innumerable fortresses among the mountains, a thousand Sevastopols made by God himself, where men

could conceal themselves in safety and defy an army.

John Brown intended to occupy these natural fortresses, & make forays up on the surrounding country, take horses, cattle & food for their subsistence; & slaves would join them, & these they wd. send to Canada. To help slaves to escape was his only object. By seizing Harper's Ferry, he thought slaves would at once flock to his standard in sufficient numbers to overcome the surrounding country, & he cd. keep it long enough to dictate terms to his enemies, & then march out of the country with a great multitude on their way to freedom. His previous successes inspired him with a false confidence. This was his great mistake. His good judgement seemed to forsake him. & in a few hours lost all the advantage he had gained.

Chambersburg is 10 miles from Harper's Ferry. D. had his last interview with him here in an old stone quarry. He told Brown "he would go into a steel trap", but could not persuade him to give it up. D. related other interesting incidents, of a meeting in a garret. Kagi armed was present & ready. That day their arms & stores were removed to Harper's Ferry. When it was taken D. was in Philadelphia. He telegraphed to Rochester to have certain papers in this house secured. The Operator in R. was his friend very fortunately. D. succeeded in getting to N. York. By Miss Assing's help he was got through the city. disguised & taken twenty miles in a close carriage. & got to Canada & soon embarked for England. In the March following on the news of Annie's death he returned immediately. & was at home two weeks. before people knew it.

It is hardly likely he will be disturbed now. but if it was generally known that he was implicated, or that John Brown was at D's house so long, it would create a prejudice against him, & there are those in Rochester who wd. like to annoy him if they could.

D's family suffered very much from excitement & apprehension while the Country was so aroused. But his sons behaved with great prudence & caution,—& now only a few of D's intimate friends in R. know all about it.—D. thinks John Brown was one of the noblest of men; he loved him & reveres his memory.

It was very interesting to me to hear this from D's own lips. He has promised me an autograph of John Brown. John Brown Jun. has been in R. lately. Mrs. C. gave me some of his hair. He is a man of much character.

John Brown,

[Transcriber's note: Blank spaces left in original]

Other arrests were made. Douglass, Gerrett Smith, Giddings &c. were threatened. All at once the proceedings stopped.

John Brown had invaded a state with an armed force, & seized public property. Prominent men, yes, those men who were engaged in trying these cases, were intending to do the same thing whenever a Republican President should be elected. They perceived that all their arguments wd. be used against themselves when their turn came. So they thought it wisest to desist, & all was dropped. And in less than one year their designs have been carried out; they have taken possession of public property, plotted against the government, & deserve hanging if any body does (which I deny) If Brown had succeeded he would have had the world's applause. Those who know

him now think him a hero & a martyr. Posterity will do him justice.

Rochester March 13th. 1861.

About 10 Charlotte & I went to Mr. Angle's. Mr. Griffin came to dinner & tea & spent the evening.

I enjoyed the day, but cannot say as much for the evening. The whole evening was spent with cards. & as I was the only one that did not play, it was not pleasant. I am ashamed of my kind. To see rational, accountable beings spend hours in this way, instead of trying to improve each other by intelligent conversation & social intercourse, is to me a sad sight,

Champaigne & whiskey were the accompaniments, almost of course. Oh, dear, why will people do so?

I have a great regard for Mr. & Mrs. A., but I should like them much better if they would

be guided by their own good sense, & not encourage those foolish & pernicious customs of society.

I think I have seen those sipping Champaigne this evening who are destined to be sorry that they ever gave their countenance to the practice.

I trembled at what I saw.

Thursday March 14th.

This A.M. called on Amy Post. had a pleasant little visit.

Called on Mrs. Watkeys. Received a fine parcel of reform tracts from Amy Post & Susan B. Anthony.

Called on Mrs. Howell.

Spent the evening with the Miss Allgoods. To night finds me at John R's.

Friday March 15th.

This P.M. called at Mr. Mount's.

Rest of the day at John's. sewed. This evening read W. Phillips' speech "Lessons of the Hour". Quite tired tonight.

Rochester March 16th.

At C's store nearly all day. Read "Miss Gilbert's Career" by J.G. Holland. I like it very much but do not accept it quite all.

Towards night went to Irondequoit with David & Lillie. All well but Aunt E. she is quite lame.

D. read for us this evening W. Phillips' speech on 'Progress'.

Irondequoit March 17th.

Very cold & windy.

read some & visited more. Aunt Elizabeth is old & infirm & thinks she has not long to live. She is pleasant & cheerful & I think it a privilege to visit her occasionally. She will soon pass away probably.

Irondequoit Mar. 18th.

Very cold. Read, sewed, & visited.

Benjamin Bowerman & wife came this P.M..

Rochester Mar. 19th. Tuesday.

Mercury at zero this morning.

Came up to city with David & Lillie. Have had a good visit at Benjamin's. This P.M. called on Cousin Isaac & saw his paintings.

Then C. went with me to Miss Porter's to the Anti Slavery Society. 8 or 10 present. It was pleasant to meet the society again. & listen to Anti Slavery talk. It has done C. good as well as well as myself.

It is a long walk to Miss P's. & I feel tired to night. Sis has been skating & hurt her ancles.

Think I shall get up early to take the morning train for Rush.

Rush. Wednesday. Mar. 20th.

Rose before 6, none of the family were stirring when I left. I kissed Sis goodbye. Walked to the Depot with my basket & parcel. A bright cold mornin

On leaving the train at Rush, to walk home, I found a young man coming the same way. I soon learned he was bound to Uncle Jephtha's, & was a 5th. or 6th cousin, name, Henry Wilbur Brown. I invited him to go home with me, which he did & carried my heavy parcel of books & tracts. This was a rough walk of 2½ miles, & to-night I am tired. This P.M. I have taken a bath. put away my things & helped mother quilt.

I have been gone about 11 days, & father was about going to Avon to see if he could hear from me. I did not suppose any body would be uneasy about me if I did stay longer than I intended. Find things here about as usual. Henry & A. have been away to day. She looks at me as spiteful as ever.—

Rush. Sunday. March 24th. 1861.

A cold, blustering day, very much like last Sunday. I have been in my own room writing most of the time. H. & Ann are gone away.

Since Wednesday I have helped mother quilt. & have written some & read. It has been cold & I have not been out. Had letters from Frances, Elma[?] & Mary.

Rush. Sunday. March 31st. 1861.

The Anniversary of my dear Mother's death. 27 years have gone since she was taken from us & laid low in the grave. Oh! my mother, my mother. How much I miss her even now, & how much I need her still, & have needed her through all these weary years. Were she with us, had her life been spared until now, how different & how much better it probably wd. have been for us. But in the prime of life, only 43, she was taken from her family. from her little children. & they have all learned how hard

it is to live without a Mother.

Today is cold but fine & bright. Last Wednesday I walked over to Uncle Jephtha's & from there to Mrs. Morehouse's & spent the P.M. very pleasantly. At evening Ezra B. took me to Uncle Ephraims, where I staid until last night, when Cyrus took me to Uncle Jephtha's, & this morning Ezra D. brought me home. Friday P.M. was warm & fine & I

went to Mr. Cookingham's & had a pleasant visit. I have been sewing for Aunt Eliza & have had a good time all around.

Aunt E. is agreeable company & I always like to stay there, whether visiting or working or both.

No particular news through the week, There seems to be a "masterly inactivity" on the part of our government. I very much fear concessions on the part of the North, Fort Sumpter is still held by Anderson, & people are anxious for the result.

Rush. Sunday. April 7th. 1861.

During the past week we have had a snow storm, but the snow has gone now. It has been very muddy & the travelling bad. Nobody has been here. I have sewed nearly every day, & do not feel well when I sew so steadily. It is lonesome here. We have the papers & this is a great privilege. No encouraging news yet.

The do-nothing policy of the Administration is exhausting our patience. Lincoln has made some good appointments & does not ignore the Abolitionists by any means. Seward favors a peace policy & favors concession also. & there are too many that agree with him. Chase believes in an active policy at once. "The revenues should be collected, & if necessary call congress together. Or if the people are unwilling to make a war for the Union, then recognize the Slave Republic at once & draw the line between

Slavery & freedom, between loyalty & disunion. We are on the eve of stirring events.

Senator Wade is reported to have said to the President, "Sir, if the Administration pursues its present policy, in thirty days you will be Jeff. Davis's prisoner of war." The Republicans say "that the result of the present policy will be, first, the utter demoralization of the government & the people; 2^d, the independence of the rebel Republic; & 3^d, the final subjugation of every free State by the Southern Confederacy. One by one, the Free States wd. join the only government possessed of energy on the continent, & slavery wd. have complete dominion over the Republic".—

Bloodshed must ensue or Slavery will triumph, I very much fear. I have not the least doubt that Slavery will be destroyed, but I fear it will be a long time yet. No one seems willing to say what the future will be, no one will risk a prediction.—

Sixty six weeks has my darling been gone from us. Yesterday, April 6th. was her birth day. She is five yrs. old. I have thought of her & dreamed of her so much lately.— Yesterday P.M. I called at W. Clark's, & Harvey B's. & Mr. Dailey's & Mrs. Avner's. Mrs. Dailey & her family visited at Revilo's about two weeks since. Freda was well, she grows some, & seemed contented, & they all seemed pleasant towards her. Mrs. D. thinks R's wife is kind to her. Freda is learning to read. She has kept her playthings well. She & the little boy seem to agree when playing.

Mrs. D. says she talked with the wife about their keeping Freda from us & told her it was very hard for us not to be allowed to see her. The woman said "she did not know but it was; but as long as she had the child she should not let her

see us, & she did not want her under the influence of Frances & myself, for we might prejudice Freda against her."

Mrs. D. talked with R. too. He said "we wd. have a bad influence over the child & it was best not to have any intercourse with us."

Mrs. D. said the wife only mentioned Frances & myself. she said nothing about any others of the family. It seems their hearts are as hard as ever. & there is nothing to hope for from them. I see no way in which I can see my darling. I fear she does not care about us any more, & perhaps does not think of us. Mrs. D. asked her "if she wanted to see Aunt Julia?" But Freda did not make much of any reply. Oh! I see how it will be. I shall be no more to her than any body else very soon.

This talk with Mrs. D. has made me almost sick. I have cried till my eyes ache & I feel so miserably today. I am alone. All the rest have gone away.

Rush Sunday Apr. 14th.

Pleasant weather all the week until yesterday when it rained & we needed rain very much. I have done a good deal of hard work in the Garden during the week. & things begin to grow nicely. I have sewed some & read some, &c. I finished Elsie Venner last evening. I have been much interested in it all through. Holmes is a writer of genius, wit & sense.

The Papers say war is inevitable. & I say 'let it come,' rather than this do-nothing policy should continue. I suppose Charlestown has been the scene of fighting before this. What it will come to I cannot presume to guess. I fear the slave is not to be saved yet. The Lord have mercy on him, as well as the rest of us.—Last evening had a letter from Ella. I think she is some better, & she hopes to be able to come East in the summer. I hope she may do so.

April 19th. Friday. 1861.

The Anniversary of Sarah's Death.

Three years already since she died. & if Baby had lived she would have been three yrs. old on the 11th. inst. It does not seem as if this could be so, but how time flies.

Last Tuesday I walked to Leland's. In the P.M. it snowed & the wind blew. I staid all night.

On Wednesday P.M. I walked to Avon to Mr. Hartwell's, where I am now. Mr. H. has had another paralytic stroke & is quite feeble & helpless & I have tried to be of use to them in helping Alvira.

Thursday it rained & snowed.

Last Sunday Fort Sumpter was evacuated. It was attacked on Friday the 12th. inst. & the Fort was at last set on fire by the rebels' hot shot & shells. & it took all of Anderson's men to put out the fire. 19 batteries had been built around the harbor of Charleston in order to take it. Major Anderson surrendered with

the honors of war & marched out with drums beating & colors flying. He is now in New York. The President has ordered out troops. First 75,000 then 100,000. All the Free states responded promptly. but none of the border States but Maryland, who agrees to furnish her quota. Virginia has seceded & the war has begun.

Rush. Apr. 20th. Saturday.

This morning I went to West Avon in the Express for Alvira. Called at Mr. Winans. & got the news. Walked home from East Avon & called at Leland's & Harvey B's Am excessively tired, but I will not mind being tired if it does not make me lame. Revilo was at Harvey's Monday. He said "Freda was well & she does not say much about coming down now." So it is to be, I suppose she hardly thinks of us now, oh! dear.—It is 68 weeks since she was taken from us.—Yesterday a Massachusetts regiment on its way to Washington was attacked in Baltimore by a mob & several persons killed. The rest succeeded in reaching Washington. A company of unarmed volunteers from Philadelphia had to go back.

There is great excitement through the country. All for the Union now, Secessionists have to keep quiet. Report says Jeff. Davis is marching towards Washington. No doubt it will be attacked very soon, & probably it will be taken by the Rebels before troops in sufficient numbers can get there to protect it. They can't go by the Baltimore R.R. & must go by water. There is a fearful state of things. Va. offers 100,000 troops. They are arming.

This P.M. Father & Mother went to Mr. Hartwell's, but they could not get into the store for the crowd. There was a public meeting to be addressed by Hosmer. Cannons were firing, drums beating, and flags flying. & little gray did not know what to make of it. Civil war is upon us. I hope the slave will take advantage of it & strike for Liberty. I hope peace will not be proclaimed until every slave is free. I hope every body will understand that the South is fighting for slavery, to extend the system over all the country. Will she do it?—

Rush. Sunday Apr. 21st. 1861.

Fine & warmer. Snow nearly gone. Been alone most of the day. & have written to Angeline, Frances, Elma & Mary. Uncle Jephtha & Isaac & Ezra have called. Father & Mother have heard two war sermons. Everybody talks about war. They all seem to be of one mind. Great excitement in Rochester. A company is to leave there to morrow for W. We fear troops will arrive there too late. All are anxious to hear further news.

Monday. Apr. 22^d.

Three years ago to day Sister Sarah was buried in W. Avon. It was a bright pleasant day, & to day is fine & warm.

This morning troops left Rochester for Washington. & when the train stopped at W. Avon music & shouting was heard here. 15 men have gone from Avon to day.

I have washed & ironed & wrote two letters & read some, & to night I am very tired.

Rush. April 28th. 1861. Sunday

Rainy & windy. I have written two or three letters & read to father Beecher's sermon on the war, & had a collision with H. & Ann &c. The last has made me feel miserably. Ann is very saucy & insulting to father. I wish he would not bear so much of her. She told him "she hated me & wants him to understand it." She is a terrible little woman.

Last Wednesday I went with father to Avon. & called at Uncle Ephraim's. & then went to Mr. Hartwell's to sew for Alvira. Mr. H. is better.

The arsenal at Harper's Ferry & the arms have been destroyed by the garrison to prevent their falling into the hands of the Rebels. The ships & Navy Yard have been destroyed at Norfolk for the same purpose. Fort Monroe is held by the government yet.

Jeff. Davis is said to be marching to Washington, our troops are arriving there in great numbers, & they hope to be in time to save it.

Thursday sewed all day for Alvira & towards night walked to Mr. Winans. It was a long but pleasant walk & I was quite tired. Mrs. Winans has a brother & son who have enlisted. & of course all the talk is of war.

Friday I went to Chili with Mr. & Mrs. W. & visited at Mr. Root's. Had a nice ride & I enjoyed it exceedingly.

Saturday I went to burying ground, & in the P.M. Julia Winans brought me home. Then I read Wendell Phillips' discourse on the War last Sunday in Boston. It is a glorious speech in support of the Administration. "The same mob that threatened his life last January, stood packed around the same building, applauding whenever the echo of his voice reached them. They wanted to draw him home when the lecture was over, but he retired through a back entrance & avoided their ovation." Is not this turning the tables?

The largest audience ever assembled to hear one man. 4000 in the building, Music Hall, & as many more were excluded[?] who could not get an inch of standing room. The Platform was decorated with the stars & stripes. He said "it was the first time in his Anti Slavery life that he had spoken under the stars & stripes & welcomed the tread of Massachusetts men marshaled for war." He said "today the slave asks God for a sight of this banner". This is the motto of the A.S. Standard now. It has heretofore been "No Union with Slaveholders." He says, in speaking of the Tribune, "its unflinching fidelity & matchless ability make it, in this fight "The White plume of Navarre." But nothing has

gratified me more than to hear that Southside Adams was lately told by some persons who waited upon him for the purpose, that if he did not come out stiff & strong for northern rights & freedom his house wd. be burned down over his head, & so last

Sunday he preached a patriotic sermon. And Van Dyke of Brooklyn has been waited on by his friends who tell him he will not be safe unless he comes out stronger for the Union. I am glad to learn that these men are estimated aright.

Yesterday had letters from Frances & Ella. Ella is better & means to come to Somerset soon if she is able. I shall try to go there & see her. She will not come home in such a bad state of things as exist here now. I try not to think of it, for it makes me sick. It grows less & less like home.

Tuesday Apr. 30th.

Rainy. with two bright intervals. I have cleaned the parlor & bedroom & am very tired tonight. Mother has gone to Mt. Morris to be absent a week or more. Father took her to the cars. He brought last evening's paper & letters from Charlotte & Mary Julia. Sis writes a very nice & intelligent letter. She

discusses the times of course, & is full of excitement. C. is helping the ladies sew for the volunteers & is wide awake on the war. Mr. Griffin has not enlisted but he talks about it.

No particular news. No attack has been made upon Washington yet. it is so well defended now that the Rebels hold back; & Va. says her troops will not attack it. We think the rebels are waiting to get better organized & supplied.

Yesterday I washed & ironed & did some other work. Lillie Bigelow was here. I was so tired that I did not know how to get up this morning. My sleep lately is disturbed by unpleasant dreams. Perhaps some new evil is impending.

Thursday. May 2^d. 1861.

Letters from Sister Mary & Cornelia Post. Mary is full of trouble, the first she has had since she was married. Her husband has enlisted, & was to go day before

yesterday to Fort Wayne, 4 miles below Detroit. Mary feels very badly & I am very sorry for her. They were living happily & it is bad to have their family broken up. At first she could not consent to it, but she did at last & Joseph did not go until she did consent.—She is coming home to visit us all & will stay a few months. & intends to start in about 2 wks. I am so glad she is coming. & I hope she will take some comfort here, although it is so unpleasant. She means to stop with Ella a few days. & I hope Ella will be able to come with her.

This is a new source of anxiety. & my life seems to be made up of care & trouble. Mary says "she don't blame Joe for wanting to go & if she was a man she wd. go too."

I have been to Harvey B's this P.M. Mrs. B. feels very badly about her brother Joseph's going: & I think he might have waited until it becomes necessary for more men.

Cousin C. does not care for the war, she is tired of hearing about it.
Cousin Robert Lapham's wife died the 24th of Apr. & was buried last Friday.
Two more little motherless ones in the world.

Cousin Caroline Lapham was married in Jan. to Henry Van Orman & lives 3 miles from Troy.—

It has been cold & unpleasant to day & last night it froze quite hard. I have done little but think about Mary & read the paper to father. No particular news. Baltimore is quiet & the Stars & Stripes now wave over the city. The Pug Uglies have been quieted for the time. Virginia seems willing to hold on a little, but it is said Jeff. Davis is moving his forces north. & means to be on the banks of the Hudson in less than a month. Troops have poured into Washington, & it is now thought safe from an attack. The R. Roads & bridges in Maryland have been repaired & are now guarded by soldiers & communication is open with the north.

Friday May 3^d.

A long, tedious forenoon, long enough for a common day. This P.M. went with father to Avon, & called at Leland's & Mr. Hartwell's & Wm. J. Harris's & Uncle Ephraim's & Mr. Cookingham's & Mrs. Morehouse's & Uncle Jephtha's.

Mr. Merrill of Avon raised a secession flag on his house yesterday & towards night a company of men from the village went there & made him take it down, & they then tore it in pieces & distributed it among the company, & if he does not raise the Union Flag they say they will tear his house down.

But I think they will hardly go to that extent. It wd. not be right. Mr. Merrill has relatives in Mississippi, but I think he had better keep still if he is not a friend of the North. We shall not hold still for his relations to fight us, or lynch us, or hang us or tar & feather us.

It is well enough to scare those men with Southern proclivities, for now is not the time to manifest them. It is thought that Maryland will not secede at present. & that Jeff. Davis wants a truce of 60 days. I hope they will not grant it, but make him toe the mark as soon as they can, before he can collect any more forces. The South has thought that most of the Democrats at the North would side with them. & the unanimity of feeling here has surprised & disappointed them. They little thought the N.Y. Herald, wd. turn against them. & southside Adams & H.J. Van Dyke too. I have not much confidence in these sudden conversions. Van Dyke says now that the Government must be sustained, last winter he wrote to a friend in Georgia thus, "If the agitation of the slavery question is not stopped, & the hostile legislation of the North is not repealed, your state & all the Southern States ought to break loose from the Government."

³When I came home Addie & Mattie D. & Lillie B. were here for plants & roots. They took tea & left about dark. I wd. as soon have a small regiment of wildcats about the house as to have 3 such girls & yet I like to have them come.

It is said that John Brown Jr. is raising a regiment of negroes in Va. to fight the South. I had supposed old John Brown's spirit was hovering around Harper's Ferry about these days & I hope his mantle has fallen on his son. The negroes undoubtedly will act a part in this rebellion when the right moment comes & wait with fear & trembling. His chains will be made tighter for a while or else it will work out his emancipation. There are many people who wd. like to get rid of Slavery because it is a vexed question & they wish to hear no more about it & not because they have any principle against it.

But let them work. The people are building better than they know, but they will see it in the end.

May 4th, Saturday.

Fine & warmer. Did house[?] till 10. Then worked in garden till 1, & am oh! so tired.

Henry & Ann are away this P.M. & that gives me extra work. I have an indications of something I know not what, which has surprised me much. This A.M. Ann spoke to me in her natural manner, as anybody else would. For 6 months or more she has not spoken to me only when she had something to spiteful to say. I don't know how this happened.

70 weeks since my precious one was taken from us. Perhaps she seldom thinks of us. When Mary comes I shall insist upon her going with father to see Freda though I fear he will not go.

Sunday, May 5th, 1861

Very bright & warmer.

Went with father to meeting. Heard Mr. Nott preach two sermons but they made no impression upon me. His doctrine I do not believe, especially that a sheriff when about hanging a man "is the servant of God". The troops have left Rochester for Elvira. Lincoln's 20 days of grace expire today & now we expect something will be done.

Frederick Douglass was ready to take a trip to Hayti ten days ago but has given it up for the present, hoping there will be something for him to do here.

Wednesday May 5th [*Transcriber's note: Also dated May 5*]

Yesterday & day before cleaned house & worked in garden & painted. Today Mother got home from Mt. Morris. Rainy. Cleaned bedroom this A.M. This P.M. getting ready to go to Rochester tomorrow. Letter from Frances. Wants me to meet her in city tomorrow. So tired.

³ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26051_034 to HC13-26051_112, in their Folder entitled March. 12, 1861 to Sept. 20, 1861.

Thursday, May 9th, 1861.

With little gray & buggy came to city alone. Charlotte has gone to N.Y. so I shall not see her.

Frances left Hartland this morning & got here about the time I did. Abner has not come. Called at Industrial School & went with F. to look for furniture. Met Mrs. Coleman. Took dinner with Mr. Griffin. This P.M. Francis & I have been to Mrs. Watkies' to meet John Brown Jr. Rumor has had him in Western Virginia at the head of 400 negroes & 1500 more ready to join him. This has been the rounds of the papers. Another report was that John Brown Jr. & Redpath were prisoners on Cumberland Island & were about to be shot. So much for newspaper reports. Mr. B. says "he has learned to believe nothing that he reads & only one half of what he sees." He has just come from Boston & is on his way home to Ohio. He has been among the fugitives in Canada most all winter. Chas. Sumner, W. Phillips Dr Howe, Stearns & others sent for him to

Come to Boston to consult as to what is best for Abolitionists to do.

Phillips & Sumner think that everything is working well now. But the North as a body is not ready to espouse the cause of the African. It is best to keep the North united until they get so far that they can't give up, till they need regiments of colored men & will be glad of their help. Colored regiments are forming in Boston, New York & Philadelphia & have offered their services but government will not accept them yet. Still they mean to be ready. But any demonstration by Abolitionists now would divide the North & do no good. Mr. Sumner says the North must be castigated severely, she must be beaten in several battles, each state must be made to feel more deeply by still further outrages by the South; this will have to be done before there will be a general anti-slavery feeling sufficient to make cause with the slave. This war may end & the slave not be emancipated, but un-

less the question is settled now it will soon come up again, for the slave will eventually be free. I fear this delay must occur for these Democrats, hunkers[?] & proslavery ministers are not abolitionists yet, far from it.

Gen. Butler offered the services of Mass. troops to put down any uprising of slaves in Maryland. Lieut. Slemmer at Fort Pickens sent back to Florida seven slaves in chains who came to him & offered their services & one officer has said he would willingly go into S. Carolina now to put down a slave insurrection.

As P. Pillsbury says, "I try hard to be glad, I am glad of this uprising of the North, but it means no good to the slave"—

I shall not soon forget the pleasure this interview has given me. The noble soul, the free spirit of John Brown Jr. his heroism at Harper's Ferry, his terrible sufferings as a prisoner, his being the son of Old John Brown of Osawatimie"; all these things create a deep interest in the man. They tell me he is

very like his father. He has a mild, loving eye, gentle manners, deliberate speech. Has dark hair, sandy beard quite long, worn to hide the scars about his face & neck made by the sabre cuts of the enemy. Terrible scars on his arm from the ropes by which he was dragged for miles. Has fine teeth, is very neat in his person, has a taste for the beautiful & worships the good & true. How unlike what I imagined him to be. Like his father he has deep religious feelings & acts from firm convictions of duty; not from impulse, not from revenge, but because he hates slavery & wrong. I told him "I hoped I should hear glorious news of him yet."

There is no doubt but the Harper's Ferry affair & the execution of John Brown helped us along greatly to the times we now see. I have enjoyed this P.M. exceedingly.

Miss. S. B. Anthony was there & Rosa Douglass & others. & Sister F. enjoyed it as much as I did.

Took tea at C's, then went to Irondequoit. Benjamin drove for us, good visit with Aunt E. & the rest.

Friday, May 10th

Came back to city early this morning. Saw Sis & Ned a little while. Went out with Frances, finished my business. Saw a company of volunteers being drilled. All quite young, some of them mere boys. The troops mostly left R. a week ago, so there is not quite as much excitement in R. now as there has been for a few weeks past. Left for home at 2 & from Henrietta rode in the rain.

H. & A. wanted to go away today but could not because I was gone with the horse. They seem full of wrath & hatred. They say nothing to me, but their treatment of father is worse than I have seen before. To see them do so makes me almost sick & discouraged. If they should abuse me a half a day & say their worst it would not trouble me half as much, as does this treatment of father, & father allows them to go on so & says not a word in reply. I pity Henry for all he is so bad. His wife makes him so I think.

Sunday May 12th

Fine day. Father & Mother gone to meeting. Henry & Ann are away & I am all alone. A good time to write, but it is lonesome. Yesterday I worked in the house & garden & sewed & read &c. & I am very tired of it. Brought home "Linda" & "Redpath's Life of John Brown" but there is so much to do now that I can read but little besides the papers.

Sunday May 19th

A week of house cleaning & hard work. I feel old & lame & tired. Mother & I have cleaned the large chamber, & cleaned, papered & painted the Sitting room. It looks so much better that we feel paid for our hard work. I have also cleaned & painted the front

stoop; & varnished furniture &c &c. I have read "Linda" & am now reading John Brown, & yesterday worked in garden some &c. It has been cold & unpleasant during the week.

I found "Linda" exceedingly interesting. It is incidents in the life of Harriet Jacobs, a fugitive slave who was in Rochester about a year & where I became a little acquainted with her & also her brother John S. Jacobs, who was a fugitive too. He lectured on Anti-Slavery & was here once with Douglass & then went to California. Harriet's home has been in the family of N.P. Willis ever since she came North. & they have befriended her nobly. Willis's 2^d wife paid for the freedom of Harriet & her 2 children so that they might not be in fear any longer of the slave hunters. H. protested against this but Mrs. W. did it unknown to her. A noble woman! This has inspired me with a fresh hatred to slavery, for was she not a woman & a sister? & are there not thousands like her helpless & sorrowing in that dark prison house of iniquity. Harriet Jacobs has noble womanly feelings although her skin is not quite as white as mine.

John Brown was a remarkable & wonderful man. His struggles in Kansas & murder of his sons, his career at Harper's Ferry & the killing of 2 sons there, his sublime & triumphant death on the scaffold at Charleston; all these embody incidents so painfully interesting, so self-sacrificing & heroic, that I am lost in amazement & awe. —R.W. Emerson said:

"The Saint whose fate yet hangs in suspense, but whose martyrdom, if it shall be perfected, will make the gallons glorious like the cross."

Henry D. Thoreau said:

"He was one who recognized no unjust human laws but resisted them as he was bid. He cd. not have been tried by his peers, for his peers did not exist"—Theo. Parker said, "John Brown is one of the most extraordinary men of this age & nation".

Wendell Phillips said:

"God makes him the test, & all he asks of our comparatively cowardly lips is to preach the sermon & say to the American people that, whether that old man succeeded in a worldly sense or not, he stood a representative of law, of government, of right, of justice, of religion, & they were pirates that gathered about him, & sought to wreak vengeance by taking his life. The banks of the Potomac, doubly dear now to History & to Man! The dust of Washington rests there; & History will see forever on that riverside the brave old man on his pallet, whose dust, when God calls him home, the Father of his Country wd. be proud to make room for beside his own."

Dr. Cheever said: "John Brown was a shot from the cannon of God's providence."

How much the Harper's Ferry affair & the death of J. Brown have to do with the present war, none of us can tell. I think it has much to do with it. I think that act will yet raise up 50 John Browns to avenge the wrong of the slave, His spirit still lives!

Sunday evening. Henry & Ann are away, Father & Mother have been to meeting, brought papers & letter from Cousin Kate—. Aunt Phebe intended to start the 1st of June to visit us but the Bank in which she has deposited money has failed & now she fears she will be unable to come. She is much disappointed as well myself.—Things wear a martial aspect in Quincy as well as in our eastern towns.

No particular war news. The Union sentiment has triumphed in Maryland. U.S. troops have come through Baltimore. Gen. Butler has taken possession of the City. Western Va. is resisting the traitors. Capt. Lyon has captured a rebel brigade of 800 men near St. Louis.—After Gen. Butler offered his regiment to put down any uprising of slaves in Md.; it is said Gov. Anderson of Mass. wrote to him saying “he had made a great military blunder which must not be repeated.”—

Rush, Sunday May 26th, 1861

Another busy week has gone. Have been housecleaning & have worked hard. Yesterday I rested a little.

Had a letter from Frances. Alvira & Mary & Minnie are with her. Alvira is considerably better. She is to stay with F. this summer & will probably not come home.

Mary intends to come here this week. She is to make a short visit in Somerset first. I am in a hurry to see her. But it will be unpleasant here. Ann has had another tantrum, a regular quarrel with Mother. Cousin P.A. Gazely & husband visited us on Thursday but Ann would do nothing for them.

Had a characteristic letter from Wm. Penn. He is much moved by the martial aspect of affairs. He lives on the Railroad where he sees the troops pass & he sometimes gives them a blast from his Bugle.

No battle yet but the Federal troops are about marching into Virginia.

Wednesday May 29th, 1861

Heavy rain last night. This A.M. went to Avon & called at Mr. Hartwell's. Letter from Mary. She was to come to Rochester yesterday, so I intend to go for her tomorrow. Yesterday worked on my flag & wrote to R.A. Carroll. I feel dispirited & discouraged. 64 wks since I have seen my darling, I dream of her & think of her. Oh! dear.

Col. Ellsworth of the N.Y. Zouave regiment has been killed at Alexandria Va. by a Seccessionist, & creates great indignation at the North. Our troops have gone in to Virginia. A fight is expected.—

Thursday May 30th

Started early this morning for Rochester. It has been a very fine day

Found Mary & Minnie at Charlotte's. Mary has changed but little in 4 yrs. Minnie is 3 yrs. old & is a nice little girl. Called on Mrs. Watkies & walked considerably & got very tired. & this P.M. have had such a dreadful sick head ache that I could hardly sit up to ride home. Mary drove most of the way.

Friday, May 31st.

Felt miserably all day but kept busy. Mary & Minnie are glad to be at Grandpa's. If my little darling was here now how happy I might be. It is so wicked to keep her from us. Henry & Ann have been away all day. Maria B. called this evening.

Saturday, June 1st.

Fine. Worked all day on my shawl & M. helped me some. Am very tired. Minnie has been very happy. She has been to Uncle J's with H & Ann & got a basket of apples. Mrs. Bigelow called this evening

Rush, Sunday, June 2^d, 1861

Have not felt like doing anything today. Have been alone with Mary & Minnie & wrote a little. Rain this P.M.

Monday June 3rd.

This A.M. washed & this P.M. ironed. Finished my black shawl & am very tired. Nobody tries to make it pleasant for Mary. She has been asked to do part of the work while she stays. No regard is shown her whatever. It is a sad, a dreadful thing to have no mother. But it is sadder still & more to be dreaded to have another person in a dear good Mother's place.

Mary is anxious & worried & not in good health & I would like to promote her comfort & have her enjoy herself while she is here but I cannot do as I would wish. It is but very little like home to me.

Wednesday Jun 5th.

Yesterday & today have sewed steadily wh. is hard work for me. Mary & Minnie have gone to Harvey's.

Thursday June 6th

This morning worked in garden & talked awhile with father. The result is a nervous & sick head ache & I have been unable to sit up this P.M.

Never in my life have my feelings been wounded more deeply. My father is childish & easily imposed upon by the designing & selfish. & I can forgive him, at the same time I can never forget his harsh and unkind words.

I have explained some things to him, & he feels differently now, & wishes he had not

said what he did & assures me that I will not be disturbed &c &c, but a wounded spirit who can bear?

I refuse to work any more than I have done for Henry & Ann or Laura even, for I have done more already than justice or generosity requires of me. I think I earn the food I eat & am entitled to a home here & shall act accordingly. My father's wife,

She does not deserve to be called mother any more, shows a selfish & bad spirit. She has not treated Mary civilly, & hardly humanly since she has been here & now when she is disposed to join Henry & Ann in their efforts to make it uncomfortable for Mary & myself, & to annoy father by complaints & set him against us, it is too, too bad. I was not prepared for this on her part. I supposed she would be kind & friendly towards Mary, out of regard for father if for nothing else. I am so disappointed in her. If she wants to get the ill will of the whole tribe of relations she is taking just the way.

Henry & Ann appeared much gratified at the course she has taken. I have treated her well & respectfully since she has been & I want folks to think well of her & I try always to speak well of her. But it will take a long time to forget this affair, I know she wants me to leave home. Oh! well.

Friday June 7th

Sick all day. This unfair & unkind treatment has given me a shock that I can not get over immediately. There has been such a spirit manifested here since Mary came that I have taken no comfort with her. I can hardly talk at times. I have only worked on every day & borne it in silence. But the storm has burst & if the thunder will only clear the atmosphere & make it more fit to breathe I will not mind it so much. The shock has prostrated me but I shall hope for more pleasant times for father says "Laura will treat Mary differently after this & they will try to make it pleasant for her."

Saturday June 8th.

Felt some better but cannot do much. 74 weeks since my little one was taken from my arms, from my willing care. Mary & Minnie have been to Mr. Dailey's & I have been to bring them back.

Sunday, June 9th

This A.M. Mary & Minnie & I went to church, heard El. Nott, preach a dry sermon. This P.M. got dinner, read & wrote a little. Mary & Minnie have been sleeping awhile. This has been a perfect June day, one of those that Lowell sings of,

"Whether we work or whether we listen
we hear life murmur, or see it glisten".

It is a luxury to live, to one beset by no more than ordinary cares, but it is all well nigh lost on me. I wonder if it is ever to be thus. That I never shall take comfort again.

Ann went away yesterday morning & Henry in the P.M. It seems so much better to have them away if we do have to do all the work.

Tuesday, 11th June,

Very warm. Yesterday we washed & ironed until we were very tired. This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to the burying

ground & to Mr. Winans & had a good visit. Mary has a letter from Joe. He was about to leave Fort Wayne for Washington. Today's paper says the 2^d. Michigan Regiment reached Washington Sunday night, & has been reviewed by the President. Mary feels badly about Joe's going so far off & being exposed to so many dangers.

Thursday, June 13th

Yesterday Mary & Minnie & I went to P. Office & to Uncle Jephtha's & took tea. Today finished Minnie's muslin dress. This P.M. we went to Mr. Barber's & had a nice visit. Mary has a letter from Joe. He writes from Washington is well & in good spirits.— The Federal troops from Fort Monroe attacked a battery some 12 miles distant & were repulsed by the rebels with a loss of 25 killed & 100 wounded. Gen. Pierce is blamed for bad management. This has encouraged the Rebels somewhat.

Saturday 15th June

Quite cool yesterday. In P.M. Mary went to Harvey's & Minnie staid with me. It seems some like having Freda here, & I often call her Freda. Oh! if my little darling was only with us. It will be 76 weeks tomorrow since she was taken from us, the dear one. I do want Mary to go & see her but I dread to mention it to father. I expect he will oppose it.

Today finished my Flag & the Stars & Stripes are now waving in the breeze in front of our house. Made a little flag for Minnie too. Did various chores. Windy but pleasant.

Sunday 16th June.

No one been to Church. Rainy A.M., but fine this P.M.—
Have written & read a little & rested some.

June 19th, Wednesday

Mary & Minnie & I have been to Mr. Hartwell's this P.M. Shower while we were there. Have not felt like visiting. Worked in garden this A.M. & got very tired. We hear that Harper's Ferry has been evacuated by the rebels, but they first destroyed nearly all the bridges & buildings & property that they could not remove.

Saturday June 22^d.

This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to Uncle Ephraim's & had a good visit. It is 76⁷ weeks since my darling Freda was taken from these arms, from her happy home at Grandpa's. Mary has asked father to go with her to see Freda. but he says "No" as I supposed he would, but he told her she could have the horse & buggy if she could get

anybody to go with her. We shall ask E. Daily to go with her next week. I shall be in a tumult of apprehension until

this is done, for fear Mary will not go & for fear they will not see her if they do go. It should be a small matter & an easy matter, but oh! dear, nothing is harder to bring about. I dread the time when Mary must leave. I shall be more lonely than ever.

On Thursday P.M. Mary & Minnie & I were here alone, & it seemed really pleasant, some like the home it used to be. Had a letter from Frances. Ella is in Somerset for a few weeks & she is quite smart. No particular war news.

Sunday 23^d June

Took walk to falls with Mary & Minnie. The day has been delightful, a perfect June day. Leland & Mary called this P.M. Read "Christobol" & "The Ancient Mariner". Tried to discover some of the genius ascribed to those poems, but cannot. They don't suit me. Mind too simple to appreciate their beauties probably.

Rush, June 25th

Yesterday washed, ironed & sewed & called at Harvey B's.

This A.M. forenoon sewed for Mrs. B.

This P.M. Mary & Minnie & I have been to S. Society at Mr. Dana's. Had very pleasant time there, & sometimes we almost forget how unpleasant it is at home.

Wednesday 26th

Very hot & windy. Mary & Minnie & I walked up to Harvey B.'s this morning & this P.M. visited at Mrs. Frederies[?] & he brought us home. Old Mr. Bigelow's wife came to Harvey's when we were there. When I asked after Freda, Mrs. B. said "she was well", but she answered me as if I had no business to speak of her. I could not talk with them about my darling; they seem so cold & unfeeling that they would not understand nor appreciate my feelings & motives. It disturbs me very much to see them.

Thursday 27th

Wrote to C & sewed for Mrs. B. & worked in garden. Letter from Ella, she is quite smart & is in Somerset. Mary has letter from Joe. He is in Camp on Georgetown Heights, 63 miles from Washington, is well & in good spirits.

No particular war news.

Saturday 29th,

Mary went to Rochester yesterday with Mrs. B & came back this P.M. Staid all night in Brighton. Saw C. & Mary Julia a little while. She left Minnie with me, she has been good & contented.—Ann went away yesterday morning and has not come back yet. So I have been doing housework as well as other things.

78 wks since my darling was taken from us. E. Dailey will not be at home in a week or more, so I must wait as well as I can for Mary to go to see Freda.

Rush June 30th, Sunday,

Mary & Minnie & I have been to church & heard Mr. Elmore. Came back by the way of Uncle E's & took dinner. Indications of rain this P.M. I am tired & stupid & have headache. There seems to be no electricity in the air.

Henry & Ann have not come yet.

Wednesday, July 3^d, 1861

Yesterday it rained all day. Things look fine now. Worked hard in house & garden today. Ann away.

Esek Winegar & wife came this evening to spend the 4th. Have head ache.

Thursday July 4th, 1861

The 85th anniversary of American Independence. Mercury at 84 in shade. Worked in garden this A.M. & got, oh! so tired. Anti Slavery Picnic in Rochester today. How well I would like to have been there. Douglass & Pillsbury & Mrs. Stanton are the speakers.

Congress meets today for a short term probably. No particular war news. Troops are concentrating at & near Washington.

July 7th, Sunday

Have had several very hot days. Worked in garden every morning nearly, & sewed the rest of the day, for several days past.

Friday, Mrs. Bigelow here. Ann was stuky[?] & would get no tea for the company. She behaves very meanly. Mr. W. has left, but Mrs. Winegar is to stay awhile.

A fine Comet is visible now. It is in Ursa Major. & nearly on the meridian. It is very brilliant; more so than a Star of the first magnitude.

Yesterday it was 79 wks since my precious one was taken from us. I do hope Mary can go up there this week.—

July 8th,

Washed & ironed & sewed &c. A hard day's work. Had spat with Ann at dinner table. She crowded me, I asked her to move a little & she said I might put my plate on the other table &c. She acted shamefully. I am not sorry either that Mrs. Winegar saw it.—

Mary & Minnie gone to Mr. D's to stay all night.—

July 9th

This A.M. I went to Mr. Dailey's & took dinner & this P.M went to Mr. Green's with Mary & Euphemia & Mrs. Bigelow. Had a pleasant visit.—Mary & I have been so disappointed & I have had a crying spell too. Mr. D is not willing for Euphemia to go to see Freda with Mary tomorrow & we came home this evening feeling very badly. But we

talked with Father until he has consented to go with her. It is 70 wks since I have seen my darling; it is so long, so long.—

July 10th

Father says he can't go today but will go tomorrow. Oh! dear. I am so afraid something will happen to prevent. Henry & Ann went away with buggy this morning although they knew that Mary was fixing to go away with E.D. H. is very disobliging. We walked to H's & took dinner & then got Mr. D's buggy & went to W.Jos. Harris's but Mary was not at home so we called at Mrs. Keith's & Leland's & made out to get home just before the rain, tired enough & not well satisfied with our day's work.—

July 11th

Rained all day, oh! it is so hard to wait. I sewed & sewed & sewed. Hope it will be fine tomorrow. It is quite cool.—

Friday July 12th, 1861

It is all over. They have been to R's & were not allowed to see my little dear one. We are all so disappointed. After R. & his wife both had asked father to come there to be treated so meanly, it took father by surprise. Father with Mary & Minnie left here at 8 & I worked about house nearly all the A.M. & thought about it as little & calmly as I could. Then I was anxious & disturbed & when I saw them drive up at 2 I was sure they had not seen her. They were back too soon. They got there about 11 & father went to the door, a girl opened it a few inches & told him R. was out to the barn. He went & found him. Revilo was at work on the roof with a carpenter. They talked a little while & father asked R. if he was not coming down. R. said if father had nothing in particular to say he could hear him where he was. Father told him R. he had asked him to come there & he wanted to see Freda & Mary was in the buggy & she

wanted to see her. R. said "he had nothing in particular against father or Mary but if he let them see her, the rest wd. be wanting to come & see her & he wanted nothing to do with any of the family. He did not want them to come on to his premises. He said I had property here that belonged to Freda; he had paid me a hundred & fifty dollars; & he was told that father had said he should alter his will & leave nothing to Freda &c. Father told him that was his own business & he supposed Revilo's business with me was all settled. He had tried to be generous with R. & Revilo allowed that he had been so & that he made something while he lived with father &c. Father says Money seems to worry R. more than anything else & he seemed to feel so hateful & mad, Mary & Minnie were in the buggy all this time & it seemed an age to them. In returning they stopped at the school.

house where Freda was but Miss Sinclair the teacher would not allow them to see her. She said she had been ordered not to do so. Father told her it was strange after he had been invited to come there & it was hard. She said she knew it & that she didn't approve of all they did but she could not do any different. Mary felt very badly to be so near Freda & not see her. Miss S. said "she was well & learned fast & was a nice smart little girl." So very sadly they rode homewards. They were so tired by this time that they stopped at Lakeville at Mr. Kimbark's[?] They told Mr. & Mrs. K. all about it. Mrs. K. says they watch Freda all the time & they had heard Mary was here & was expecting she wd. come to see Freda. Mrs. K says I must come up there to meeting again. & I shall do so if I can. She says when we went there to meeting last summer Dan Bigelow heard of it & went to R's that Sunday morning on horse back to tell R.

not to come to meeting with her & R. laughs about outwitting us.—

I thought if they could only visit with her a little while & speak to her of Aunt Fanny & Aunt Ella & Uncle Abner & Ned & Mary Julia, & tell her that Aunt Julia loves her all the time & she loves Freda best of any body & she must always love Aunty, if they could only have done this it would have been such a satisfaction, such a relief. But now the burden is heavier than before, for even father can have no access to her. How long, oh! Lord how long must it be thus?—

Saturday July 13th

About half sick today, so discouraged. I have nothing pleasant to look forward to. Cut off from seeing & seldom hearing from my little dear one.—such an unpleasant home—& Mary so unsettled & worried & I can do so little for her. Oh! it looks dark.

Have done various chores today. The time is going so fast & Mary will soon leave us & then I shall be more desolate than ever.—Yesterday had a letter from Mary Julia & Frances. I must write to Frances now.

Sunday, July 14th, 1861

Fine. Cool. This A.M. Father & Mother & Mary & Minnie & I went to Camp meeting about 3 miles from here. It was very pleasant. I enjoyed it much & would like to be there all day. Mr. Ives of Auburn preached from Hebrews 7-25. It was a Methodist sermon of course. Everything was decent & orderly & quiet. Such meetings are conducted much better than formerly. There were a great many people present, but all were civil. Henry & Ann have gone there this P.M.

Since we came back I have picked raspberries & helped get dinner, & it leaves but little time for writing or anything else

Tuesday, July 16th

Yesterday we washed & ironed & did various things to get ready to go to city today. We started at 9 ½ A.M. Warm ride. Dined at C.s. Sis & Ned have got back from Somerset, having made but a short stay.

Went to Industrial School & Savings Bank & dyers, a long hot walk which gave me the headache. About 3 went to Cousin H. Babcock's. Phebe C. there.

Wednesday July 17th.

A very pleasant visit at Henry's. Came from there about 2 P.M. called on Aunt Maria a little while. Then did a little shopping, our purse being very low. Mary bought spectacles. Her sight is about as poor as mine. Too bad for so young a person.—C. very busy dressing heads.

About 5 went to Benjamin's. All well but Aunt E., she is very lame. It is very pleasant at B's & Aunt E. is so glad to see us.—

Thursday July 18th, 1861

Looks like rain, quite warm. Had a nice visit at B's. Left there about 1 P.M. & did a few chores in the city. C. very busy. Have seen Sis & Ned but a few minutes. & could have no visit with C. Minnie likes the excitement & has been good all the time. Left city about 4 & stopped at Mt. Hope a little while.

Reached home about dusk. Have had a good time but we are all tired. We go to bed supperless for we are too tired to get any & there is no one to care for us.

Mary has a letter from Joe. He is in Georgetown yet. The troops are advancing into Va. & there is a good deal of skirmishing. There has been a battle in Missouri. The German Volunteers under Col. Seigel routed the rebels & many were killed. Another battle at Beverly in Va. Federal troops victorious, took many prisoners, & much camp equipage & 6 guns.

Saturday July 20th

How fast the month is going & Mary will think she must leave soon. It is most too bad to have her go back alone.

Yesterday it was very hot. & Mary & I were both almost sick, unable to do but little all day. The weather was very oppressive. Last night there was a heavy thunder shower & today it is cooler & pleasant & we have done a sight of work. Put up cherries, made currant jelly &c.—I do not feel well & I do not like the looks of my pale face, for I want to be well & strong & do all I can for Mary.

Sunday, July 21st

Cool & pleasant. Went to bed early last night to get rested out but Mary & I both dreamed of snakes & Minnie was restless & our sleep was not as refreshing as it might have been. Father & Mother & Mary have been to meeting. Minnie staid with me. Henry has several men at work harvesting.

but he does not work much himself. Ann is doing ever so much unnecessary work today. I wish they would not do so, & I wish father wd. not allow it.—

Took a walk with Minnie & met them coming from meeting. John Hillman here to tea. Read "Essays & Reviews"—a "National Church." by H.B. Wilson. B.D.—I cannot fix my mind on Theology lately. I have not half understood this. Chilly, blue P.M. Mary is lonesome.

Monday, July 22^d.

Washed, trimmed shrubbery, ironed &c. & Mary & I are almost tired out. Ann has spoken to me several times today. I cannot account for it. Mrs. B. & Mrs. Green & children called.

Tuesday, July 23rd

This A.M. sewed & this P.M. went with Mary & Minnie to Society at Mr. Hartwells. Fine & cool—

We learned this A.M. that a terrible battle has been fought at Bull's Run about 3 miles from Manassas Junction. It commenced Sunday morning & our troops were carrying every thing before them. But Gen. Patterson failed to cut off Gen. Johnson's approach & the rebels were reinforced. The fighting continued 12 hours. The men in our front ranks had used up all their ammunition & teams were sent to the rear for more. Some of our troops thought a retreat had begun, this caused a panic & they turned & fled. The rebels pursued them a short distance only. The officers wished them to make a stand at Centerville but there was no controlling them & they came back to Alexandria. The rebel force was much larger than ours. The first report was that 4,000 or 5,000 of our troops were killed, but it has come down

to 300. Of course it is not known yet. The troops keep coming in. It is a sad & disheartening affair.

Little else is talked of now, so many are anxious to hear from friends. The Rochester regiment was one that suffered most & the Avon boys were in that. Tonight we learned that the 2^d Michigan Regt. was in the fight & two were wounded but Mary does not know it yet & I wish we could keep it from her till she hears from Joe. She feels badly, but is hopeful.

Wednesday, July 24th.

Have sewed all day on Mary's wrapper. Cousin Jephtha W. here to tea. Tonight Mary & Minnie have gone to Ira Green's to stay till Saturday. Papers a full of incidents of the battle. It was a dreadful sight. A great many were there to see what was going on. Hon A. Ely was there & is missing.

Thursday July 25th, 1861

Housework & sewing & am very, very tired & depressed in spirits. It is so lonely without Mary & Minnie. What shall I do when they are gone entirely? I dread to have that time

come, but I try not to think of it. Still, Mary intends to leave in about two weeks & go to Somerset & stay 2 weeks & then go to Michigan. Papers today say 800 were killed on our side & 3000 rebels but it is all conjecture I suppose.

Friday July 26th

Hot day, mercury at 86°. I have been tired & lazy all day but I have sewed & written to Frances. Mary had a letter from Joe last night but it was written last Saturday, the day before the battle. He was at Centerville; well & in good spirits, had been some skirmishing.

Father went up to Ira Green's this morning to hear Mary read it, & he had been to Uncle J's this P.M. to hear the paper there. More particulars of the battle. No news from the Avon boys since the fight. People are very anxious to hear. Col Quinby is not killed as reported & Ely has been found. Names of officers that are killed & missing are given in the papers but not the names of the private soldiers.

Father is very uneasy & disturbed. He is troubled about Mary. I am glad to know that he thinks of her. I asked him "if she had better go back to Michigan in a few weeks as she intends to do." He said "No", but he cannot decide what is best for her to do till we hear from Joe. Too bad for her to go back & stay there alone. I hope she will be satisfied to stay here.

Sunday, July 28th, 1861

Yesterday I was almost sick & did but little. Mary & Minnie came back towards evening. Letter from Frances. She is so disappointed that they did not see Freda. Ella is about the same.

Pleasant day. I feel better & quite rested. At 4 P.M. Father & Mary & Minnie & I went to meeting at S. House; heard El. Hooker; a small talented Methodist minister. I do not feel particularly benefitted by the discourse. It was violently Trinitarian[?] & had no originality of thought. I hope it did others good.

Monday 29th

This P.M. Mary & Minnie went to Henrietta with Mr. & Mrs. Green, but will come back tonight. Ann is sick. We have washed & done various things.

Battle of Bull Run [*Transcribers note – in faint writing at top of page, does not appear to be part of original entry*]

Tuesday July 30

Do not feel much like work but have had to work hard & Mary too. Mary had letter from Joe last night written 2 or 3 days after the battle. He says it was a terrible fight. Many were killed on both sides. He was in the left wing of the 3 divisions of the forces & not in

the fore front of the battle. His regiment was one of Col. Richardson's brigade which covered the retreat & was the last to leave the field. They might & should have made a stand at Centerville but were ordered back to Alexandria & Washington. All they had to eat on that day was 2 or 3 crackers. After the fight they marched 35 miles in 12 hrs. in the rain without blankets, & then slept in a barn on the hay without supper. Joe is now at Arlington Heights.

The attack was against the advice of Scott,

Wednesday July 31st

Mary gone to Harvey's & Minnie stays with me & is very happy.

Paper full of incidents of the battle. The Army is reorganizing. Men & money are being rapidly raised. Many are despondent but more are hopeful & are determined to put down the rebellion at whatever cost. There were companies of blacks fighting with the Rebels. Our people may learn something by this defeat. They will better appreciate the enemy & lose some of their self confidence. It seems a disgrace to the nation, but it may be the best thing that could happen to us.

The rebels killed our surgeons who were tending the wounded, killed all the wounded that were left, shelled a hospital & committed many other atrocities. It will go far to show our people what may be expected of slave holders & convince

those who need convincing that Slavery breeds barbarians. This defeat will stimulate the war spirit & make the nation doubly resolved to conquer, & if it will only make us more anti-slavery we shall be better & stronger for it!

The Standard said on the 6th ult. "The Davis faction have men enough, their cavalry is better than ours, their artillery as good thanks to the judicious stealings of Floyd—they have abundance of excellent officers who have stolen their education from us & they are acting on the defensive in a country they know perfectly well." The battle of the 21st proves all this true. But in the open field we are a match for them. The southern army hate us with a perfect hatred & will fight accordingly. But our men have no animosity against those whom

they fight & they feel inferior to southerners (from long habit.) & all this is greatly to our disadvantage, & make the victory harder to win & it will not be worth the winning unless it ends in Emancipation of the Slave.

Thursday Aug 1st, 1861

Hot. Mary came back this evening. E. Daily came with her.

A battle in Western Virginia, our loss said to be 600 & the rebels 1500. Gen. Wise was made to run—

Did house work & finished a dress for Florence.

Friday Aug 2^d

Mercury at 90° in shade. Housework & sewing. This P.M. Mr. & Mrs. Winans & Julia & Johnny here; had good visit with them. Minnie & Johnny were so happy. If Freda dear was only here how happy we might be. But oh! dear I fear she will forget us all. Ann came down today & worked some.

Rush Saturday, Aug 3^d, '61

Fine. Cooler. Did various chores in reference to Mary's leaving but I don't allow myself to think much of her going. I put far away the evil day.

Read Geo. Wilkes account in the Tribune of the Battle of Bull's Run. It is painful, thrilling, mortifying in the extreme—a graphic picture. The disposition of the forces, the plan, the place, the surroundings, the march & hither, the movements through the day, the particular affects, incidents of battle, the retreat, all is described in the most striking manner.—The Rochester 13th. was in the brigade that made the central attack. Several were killed. The rebels probably lost twice as many as we. They had twice as many men on the ground & when our army was exhausted with fighting & want of food,

the rebels were reinforced by the arrival of Gen. Johnson with 30000 fresh troops. There wd. have been no use contending with these, as our army had no reserve. Our men were not opposed until they came within reach of the masked batteries. They were drawn into a trap & had they gone 2 or 3 miles further would all been lost probably as the ground was mined to a great extent. If the rebels had followed up our army in their panic & retreat they might have taken Washington it is supposed very easily.

Hon. A. Ely & C. Huson are prisoners with several hundred others.—

The rebels refuse to bring[?] the Fire Zouaves, they hate them with an especial hatred.—The Fire Zouaves are the hardest cases to be found in N. York city. After the battle they were in a state of insubordination till the next Saturday.

when they revolted. A regiment of our troops disarmed them & they have been sent back to N.Y. The time is out for many of those regiments who enlisted for 3 months. & they will go home, some are glad to get back & stay here, others will go again.

400 negroes came to Fort Monroe for protection & Gen. Butler sent them back to their masters.

Burnside & Cowdin have been giving up negroes too. It is shameful; & our arms will not be successful while such injustice is allowed by government. Why will they not do at once what must soon be done? The cause of the rebellion must be removed. Liberty must be proclaimed to the Slave. For while we protect & defend her institution (peculiar) we shall never subdue the South. This is her assailable point & we are bound

to use it & make the war as short as possible for humanity's sake—for God's sake too. Every mind is yet full of the battle. Events seem to thicken around us. I think the north will have to receive some severe lessons before she will do her duty. Perhaps we shall be subdued by the South & what then? She has already controlled us for years & instituted a reign of terror & we have submitted & may perhaps do it again. But I do think Slavery is doomed sooner or later.

Sunday, Aug. 4th

Hottest day yet.

Feel very shiftless. Father & mother have been to meeting. Henry & Ann are away. Letter from Frances. She is overcome by heat & hard work & trouble. Ella is about the same, talks about going back to Detroit—

Wednesday Aug 7th, 1861

Rainy & cooler. Worked all day in getting ready to start for Somerset tomorrow. Mary's things are all snugly packed. & a few more chores remain to be done.—We are to go to city tomorrow.

Do not feel well & work goes hard. I have had so much to do yesterday & day before too. & then the thoughts of Mary's going makes me feel badly.

August 8th, 1861, Thursday

My Birth Day. I have seen almost half a century! I can hardly believe it though.

Cloudy all day but no rain.

Got ready about 8 & Mary bid them all goodbye but father. He went to Harvey's with us. H. went with us to Rochester. Father felt badly. He will be lonesome I am sure. & he will miss Minnie very much. It is a chance if he ever sees them

again. He is old & fails very perceptibly. He hoped Mary wd. conclude to stay in Somerset at least. Too bad that it is so unpleasant in her father's house that she can't stay there, yet so it is.

I hope she will come back in the Spring & that we shall have better times here. Mary had letter from Joe last night. He is at Washington Heights yet.

I went to Avon last night for papers. No particular news, some fighting in Missouri. We have had a comfortable ride to city. Dined at C.'s All well. Several failures here, hard times to get money.

Col. Quinby & some of the 13 Regt. have returned. Did shopping for Mary. Went to John's. Minnie & I staid all night Charlotte & Mary went back.

Rochester, ~~Thurs~~Friday Aug 9th

Cloudy & warm. This A.M. drove Minnie in a little carriage from John's to Charlotte's. The nicest ride she ever had. She staid with

Mary Julia & Mary & I went out. Mary sat for picture. Went shopping & got very tired.

Saw a carbine taken from Blackhorse Cavalry & a gun & sword taken from rebels, at Bull's Run. This battle is the topic of conversation yet. Mr. Ely prisoner at Richmond writes his wife that he is well used. Do not see much of Sis & Ned. We stay at C.s. Ready to leave in morning.

Saturday Aug 10th.

Fine.hot. Left on 11 o'clock train for Middleport, C. went with us to depot. Uncle Abner met us & at 2 we were at Aunt Fanny's, tired enough. Pleasant place & good place. Ella is in Somerset.

Sunday, 11th. Hartland

Cooler. Rested today, read but little, a letter from G. Smith to Breckinridge, fine. Congress adjourned the 6th inst. Have voted men & means to carry on the war. Breckinridge & other sympathizers with

traitors. Have talked all the treason they wished to. But at a secession dinner in Baltimore Breckinridge was mobbed. Gen. Butler has written to Sec. Cameron to know what must be done with fugitive slaves, or, when the masters leave their slaves & the slaves come with in our lines are they fugitives? Gen B. says he is compelled to regard them as men & women & as free men & women too. Gen. M^cDowell's orders have been to admit no fugitives into the camps. Gen B's letter is as noble as it is wonderful. A long, long step from offering as he did when in Md. to help put down any uprising of slaves & Gov. Hicks told him "they cd. take care of their own slaves." Butler placidly says they should be regarded as free white men. Read official report of Gen M^cDowell of the fight at Bull's Run. Very plain & candid apparently.

Hartland, Tuesday, Aug 13th

Rained last night. Yesterday worked & sewed for Mary & have sewed all day today. Shower this P.M. I intend to go to Somerset tomorrow.

Wednesday, Aug 14

Fine. About 8 left Abner's with Frances & Mary & Minnie for Somerset. A nice ride. Called at Morgan's house upside down Carpenters & mason's at work on it. Came to Alfred's. Ella quite smart. She looks much better than I supposed she did. Frances has gone back. This P.M. Sarah Jane & Myra Ayer visited here. I have been sewing.

Reported battle in Missouri & Gen Lyon killed. Rebels beaten. Alfred seems to be provoked about the war; & is mad at the Abolitionists. He calls all the Republican party Abolitionists.

Friday 15th

Yesterday Elizabeth & children here. I sew most all the time. It is fine to

day. The Lake is beautiful. Minnie & I have been on the house top & we have been to see the flowers. Aunt Lina's flowers are very nice. Better state of things at Washington.

Saturday 17th

Mary & Minnie have been to Sarah Jane's. I have sewed & my head feels very badly & my eyes ache.

Theodore has been to Lockport. Skirmishing in Western Virginia. Men going on to Washington all the while. John Van W's son has enlisted & we are afraid Theodore will enlist. I am sorry for Angeline.

Somerset Sunday Aug 18

Fine. None of us go to church but Theo. We have been resting & reading some. Minnie & I have been on the house top. She thinks it very nice up there. Going to Morgan's this evening.

Tuesday Aug. 19. At Morgan's.

Full of work here, upside down yet. E. is not well, arm troubles her. Jos[?] Van W. & wife called yesterday. I have been sewing.

Had[?] colored women from Canada came to work. Sarah Jane & Miss Ayer called this eve & Mary & Minnie & I rode to Alfred's with them.

Somerset Aug 21st, 1861

The Anniversary of Brother Theodore's death. He died in 1858, three years ago. It does not seem possible that it is so long since, so time flies.

Sewed. Intend to go to Abner's tomorrow. Abner came this evening with letters from Ella's Joe & from Mary's Joe, all well. I am glad that Mary hears so regularly & that Joe seems in good spirits. Fighting in the west with various results. They are sending troops to Washington as fast as possible.

Thursday 22^d.

Rain last night. Angelina & Alfred came with us to Abner's. Got here at noon. Ella & Mary very tired & so am I too but I have been sewing since & have finished

Mary's Merino dress. Alfred & Angelina & Julia Frances have gone home.

Saturday 24th Aug 1861

At Abner's yesterday did various things to get Mary ready to start for Michigan. Today have washed & ironed & packed trunks & did various other things. We are all very tired, so many chores to do at the last. Exciting times in the west.—

Tammy Tyler, a spiritual medium here this P.M. The toots on a horn, a tooting medium I suppose.

Oh! how I shall miss Mary & Minnie!

Sunday Aug 25th

Fine. Warm. Very busy all day. Mary intends to leave tomorrow morning. Everything packed & ready dinner basket & all. I have concluded to go to Bridge with M.

Monday Aug 26th

Rainy this morning but the day has been bright & hot. Abner took us to Middleport & we reached suspension bridge about 9 A.M.

Waited half an hour there. & saw Mary & Minnie on board the train for Detroit. I took a hurried leave & left the cars after they had started. I told Minnie I was going back & she began to cry. She supposed I was going with them to Mich. I had come so far. When I had said I wd. go a little farther with her, she said “go a big farther Aunty. Come. Do.”— but they went on alone & I shall be uneasy until I hear from them. They expect to meet Joseph A. in Detroit.

I went to the Bridge & sat awhile on the bank where I had a fine view of the structure & the Falls above & the dark green river. & the village opposite. I saw a freight train the whole length of the Bridge. Moved slowly across but there was no perceptible motion of the bridge. It is a beautiful structure & wonderful too as a work of art. The continuance of man, the result of his skill.—

I did not suppose the Falls wd. ever look so insignificant to me, for I once gazed on them with delight & awe & was enraptured with their sublimity. A village has been built on each side of the river since I first saw the Bridge some yrs. ago. It is a busy place. I walked up to the Falls, loitered along & stopped wherever there was a fine view. Saw the irons in the rock where the rope was attached over which Blondin walked to the other side. Stopped in the enclosed grounds & sat on the bank & eat my luncheon. The opposite shore is very beautiful. The Clifton House has been enlarged & the buildings near it improved. The horseshoe fall was in sight & the dark green river below. A poor little starved pig had followed me & would keep near me. When I stopped the pig stopped. When I went on the pig went on. I was vexed & wd. give it none of my dinner & was tempted to push it off the bank 200 feet below but my better

feelings triumphed. & at last I went up the steps of a saloon & through it & piggy could not follow. at one point on the covered way to the Ferry is a fine view. A beautiful rainbow was at my feet & all around was oh! so lovely. The water as it poured over the Horse shoe was at the top an emerald green, scattered over with spots of snow white foam. But long before it reached the bottom the whole was changed to foam & spray, which sparkled in the sunshine, like a fairy scene.

The verdure on the banks is fresh & bright with continual moisture. & on this hot day there is a delightful coolness near the water.—I sat & I stood & I looked till I was nearly satisfied. I stopped to purchase some little earrings from the gypsum which is found here. Then I pushed on to the village looked into one or two Curiosity shops. So many rare & beautiful objects I never saw collected elsewhere. But my purse was too low to make

purchases. The village has grown since I was there last. The International Hotel has been finished & is a magnificent structure. But few visitors at the falls this season. No Southern visitors I am told.

Went to depot & rested & waited an hour for the train to leave. Saw a gay party going to Buffalo from the Falls. & had a glimpse of the fashions. Saw also an Excursion party from Canada. Composed of men & women, boys & girls & a band of music. On my way back saw Capt. Bowman on the train. He was at Bull's Run & brought away a fine grey horse which belonged to the rebel cavalry. He was reenlisting[?]. He said "they expected to take tea at Manassas but just about that time they had to leave." Reached Middleport at half past 3. Frances & Ella came to station for me & we got home before tea time. I cannot realize it all now, I have seen so much & had such a pleasant day of it. & the time has been so short too.

The only drawback I was alone & had just parted from Mary & Minnie.—

Tuesday, Aug 27th

Shower this morning. Fine day. Hot.

Sewed on Ella's wrapper. Frances washed & went blackberrying. Mrs. Shaw called. Ella seems quite smart. It seems a long time since yesterday. How we miss Mary & Minnie!

Wednesday 28th,

Hot. Got the new postage stamps. Ironed & sewed & read news.

Several women arrested as traitors & spies. Mrs. Faulkner, Mrs. Gurgan[?] &c.

Government beginning to act with efficiency. More skirmishing. Fighting in Kansas & Missouri, Secession papers stopped.

Democrats crying for peace & discouraging volunteers, too bad. Ella has letter from Joseph. Mary got safely to Detroit & J. helped her start off next morning.

Thursday 29th. At Abner's.

Fine. Hot. Finished Ella's wrapper &c. Took walk with Frances. I am anxious to hear from home. Would like to go back to Somerset. Seems long time since Mary left.

Somerset Friday 30th.

Alfred came for me this morning before we were up. Had a pleasant ride to S. Called at John Van W's & Morgan's. Elizabeth is laid up with lame arm. She suffers very much & looks miserably.

This P.M. Rev. Jas. Van W. & wife & Mrs. & Mr. Armstrong have visited here. Mr. & Mrs. A have been on a wedding tour to the Falls. Interesting young people. Live in Dutchess Co.

Saturday 31st

Last day of summer. Where has it gone? Sewed & my eyes ache. Read D.S. Dickinson's speech at Tunkhannock on the Union & the war. First rate for the old democrat. Mrs & Miss Thayer here to tea. Very still here today.

Somerset, Sunday Sept. 1st 1861

Bright & beautiful. Wd. like to go to meeting but no one to go with me. Theo. has gone to Camp meeting. Letter from Mary. She arrived safely at her home in Pine Run. the next P.M. at 3 after leaving Abner's, had no trouble & was not tired out. Found her house all right. She says when I left them on the cars Minnie cried a long time & would not be comforted. She "wanted Aunt Julia to come back & go with her to her home in Michigan." I am so glad to hear that they got there safe. Now I hope M. will not overwork in trying to get things settled & cleaned.

There was a war meeting at Corners last night. Theo. went but Alfred did not. A. says he will do nothing more for politics or religion till the war is over. He says "call a convention & settle it." We had some sharp words. He lays all the troubles to Abolitionists. Doesn't blame the South at all. The South

doesn't wish to destroy the government, but the North does." There is no use in our talking we disagree so widely. He is very glum this morning. Theo. says they had a large & enthusiastic meeting. Several speakers from abroad. I am sorry Alfred feels as he does & takes such a gloomy view of things. He seems so unhappy. I have just read from 2 Buffalo papers that the "Abolition Papers", Liberator, Independent &c should be stopped for they alienate the South."

Tuesday Sept 3^d

Yesterday washed & ironed & sewed some. Gen. Butler has taken two forts at Hatteras Inlet. 671 prisoners including 40 officers, 25 guns & 1000 stands of arms & not lost a man. A brilliant expedition.

Today went to Sarah Jane's & took dinner, to Jephtha's to tea. Report says Jeff Davis is dead. Looked over Atlantic & Independent. They are full of Anti-Slavery. A Massachusetts Regt. lately marched through N.Y. city singing a hymn to John Brown.

"John Brown has gone to glory, hallelujah," &c. Isn't it wonderful?

Pleasant visit with Cousin Isaac's new wife.

Wednesday 4th.

This morning sewed & read "Agnes of Sorrento" Mrs. Stowe's story in the Atlantic.

This P.M. Angeline & I had a pleasant ride to Corners. Called at Morgan's & Mr.

Patten's & Mr. Mathews. Sister E. is better. Alfred has been to Lockport.

Thursday 5th

Fine. Sewed nearly all day. Called at Solomon's. Gen. Fremont has proclaimed martial law in Missouri & freedom to all slaves belonging to rebels, A very important step.

Saturday 7th

Thunder shower yesterday. Sewed all day. Lieut. Brazew called to see if Theo. would enlist. He has not done so yet but seems to be thinking about it. Today, sewed, read news & called at Jephtha's.

Abner & Frances & Ella came this evening. Ella is quite smart.

Monday 9th Sept.

Yesterday Theo. & I went to Church. Heard James Van. W. —Abner & Frances left for home about 4. Ella stays to go with us to Youngstown visit Friday. An excursion is contemplated. Took walk to burying ground. Today have washed & did various things. Wrote to Mary & cousin Kate. No war news.

Wednesday 11th.

Yesterday I ironed, gathered seeds &c. Angeline is fixing her flower beds. Today I have written to Joe Van B. Had letter from Charlotte. Papers filled with proceedings of political Conventions. Party spirit prevails as usual.

Thursday 12

Fine. Wrote to C. Post. Walked to Morgan's, Elizabeth quite well. Sewed & cut out work. Called at Jephtha's, got back about dusk. Alfred & Theo. gone to Fair at Medina. Angeline & Ella been alone today.

Friday, Sept. 13th, 1861

Perfect day. Excursion to Fort Niagara postponed till another wk. Sewed &c. This P.M. Mrs. S.M. Wilson. Libbie B. & Isaac Babcock & wife have been here. Pleasant visit. Ella feels quite well.

The People's Convention & the Republican Convention have united on the State ticket. This is well so far. But the Democratic Party seemed bound to make all the trouble they can. They are trying to remove Gen. Fremont from his command in Missouri. They had rather fight the Republican party than to fight the rebels. It is disgusting & vexing. They say & do all they dare to thwart the influence of the Administration & cripple its engines. Gen. Rosecrans in W. Va. has attacked Floyd's forces & routed them. The thief Floyd fled in the night & left all his baggage. Several killed on both sides. Movements indicate a battle soon near Washington.

Saturday 14th. Somerset

Sewed & read new. This P.M. went with Angeline to Mrs. Thayer's. Shower, got back at dark. Ella had a lonely time.

Sunday 15th

Oh! dear, how time flies, one half of a fall month gone already. Three wks. tomorrow since Mary left here. I must think of going home next wk. Been to church with Angeline & Anna. Very bright & warm. The days must seem long to Ella, she has to sit in the house so much & do nothing.

James preached on Contentment. It was much better than no preaching & probably suited the wants of his church. He is a peculiar man.

Monday 16th.

Washed & ironed & sewed. This P.M. Dr. Skinner from Sus. Bridge was here with 3 of his pupils, one blind + 2 mutes & he is blind himself. A "fugitive" boy

drove for him. His pupils are all colored. & mute & blind. He has 8 now & they are supported by voluntary contributions. He has taken the most despised class of community as well as the most unfortunate & endeavors to elevate them & improve them. It is a praiseworthy undertaking; all the more so because it is so unpopular to try to benefit the African. I never saw a group which appealed more strongly for aid & sympathy.

The blind boy cd. read. I never saw a book for the blind before I think.

Dr. S. has been blind for more than a yr. & of course his usefulness must be diminished. He publishes a paper called "The Mute & the Blind." He is trying to get his institution incorporated but has not succeeded yet is so doing. Several years since he was in Rochester with several children & visited our school. I was much interested in them then,

Tuesday 17th.

Rainy. This A.M. sewed & this P.M. Ella & I went to Solomon's. He is a secessionist surely as well as a proslavery democrat. We had a spirited conversation.

This evening read Tribune till eyes ache.

Wednesday 18th

Fine. warm. Angeline has been working in flower beds. Ella & Theo. have been to Morgan's. I have been sewing. Alfred has been to Lindon to carry his wool, 2000 lbs at 35 cents a lb. —

Lincoln has countermanded that part of Fremont's proclamation wh. set free the slaves of rebels.—Our government is so tender of slave property. So afraid of hurting the rebels. They are trying to fight their "Southern brethren" without hurting them. This encourages the rebels again. The pretext is fear of alienating the loyal men in Kentucky. Oh dear! What will we come to?

Thursday 19th. Somerset.

Windy. Fear it will blow up a storm tomorrow & spoil our anticipations. Quite a party are to go. Our preparations are all made. The baskets packed with ever so many good things. Alfred has been to Lockport. Theo has gone to Fair[?] to Johnson's Creek with a head of fine sheep. This evening Morgan & E. called. Report says Beauregard is dead.

Friday, Sep 20th 1861.

Rose at five. Did not sleep well. Owls disturbed us. Started at half past 6. I rode with Morgan & E. & Julia Frances. Cloudy. Rained a little. After 9 o'clock it was a nice day. Stopped at Wilson & then the rear carriages came up; a dozen in all. Reached Youngstown about 11 A.M. & went directly to grounds near Fort Niagara, & then on the

bank of the Noble river in a fine grove was spread the collation. A fire was built & tea was made, which tea drinkers of course cd. not do without.

Buffalo robes & carriage cushions made very good seats & we relished the repast exceedingly. The prospect here is very fine. Just opposite is old Fort George & Niagara City. & on a point extending into the Lake is Fort Massasauga. Then up the river we see Queenstown Heights. Brock's Monument & two or three steamboats on the River which is here a mile wide, were working their way to the broad busom[?] of Ontario. Oh! it was an inspiring scene. Forts & battle grounds all about us. The Indian, the French, the English, & the American have each in turn held possession of those shores. The savage Indian, the polite Frenchman, John Bull & Jonathan have occupied the very spot where our social repast was spread & the war whoop & the clang of arms has resounded here when blood & carriage ruled the hour.—

Fire & sword have more than once laid waste these pleasant shores & the whole country around is surprisingly rich in historic associations. After our collation one or two of the party offered to stay & watch the carriages & traps & the rest went to see the Fort. No soldiers there. An old man in the faded uniform of an ordnance Sergeant has lived here with his family 20 yrs. & takes care of his Uncle Samuel's property. Lieut. Leffner, U.S.A. visits the Fort daily & takes meteorological observations.

The old man told us there wd. be rain or wind in 6 hrs. But, he added, we were not sugar, we wd. not melt. Some of them beat a hasty retreat, indirectly thinking they were sweeter than the old man took them to be. I was vexed at the haste of the party, for we had hurried through it all & I was not half satisfied.—

The principal building is very old. Thick walls. In it are rooms for officers, & various other purposes.

A kitchen with a huge fireplace, both brick & stone much burnt away, has alternately sent forth the savory odors of the fricassee of the Frenchman & the roast beef of the Englishman, & the fried pork of the Yankee. I tried to detach a piece of brick to bring away but the old fireplace was too well built for this.—The building is surmounted by a lantern. Here is a fine windy prospect of both Victoria's dominion & Uncle Samuel's farm & the broad expanse of Lake Ontario. Two bombproof buildings are enclosed within the walls. We examined one. The walls are several feet thick, no windows on the lower floor & on the upper floor are 2 windows on each of 3 sides, about 3 inches wide & 2 ft long. The side towards the Lake has two windows about 2 ft square. It looks indeed as if it was impervious to shot & shell. & as if it had been used for a place of safety.

Sept 20th, 1861—

⁴Diary
Niagara Co.
Friday, Sept. 20th, 1861

Visit to Fort continued,

The Fort is in good repair having been rebuilt but a few yrs. since. Several cannons mounted are kept ready to repel any foe who may approach by water. But whether the old man or his wife or his children wd. act in the capacity of gunners I know not. Several guns were lying on the ground, also 3 mortars. There was one pyramid of 10 inch shell, one of 18 lb. ball, & one of 18 lb. shell. These were all painted. There was a furnace for heating these projectiles, also a powder magazine &c. There were no barracks for soldiers. But enough of the materiel of war was there to put the fort into fighting order in a short time in case of an emergency. Long may it be before this becomes necessary. Niagara Co. was a part of the

domain of the Seneca Indians. The first European visitant was La Salle in 1678, & established a trading post here. The first work here was a simple palisade. In 1687 De Nonville made a fort with 4 bastions. Indians besieged it, sickness destroyed most of the garrison & it was abandoned. In 1725 another defensive work was made by the French, it was afterwards enlarged & became the most important French port west of Montreal.

In 1759 the Eng. sent Gen. Prideaux to reduce the place. He besieged it on the first of July & on the 25th it was surrendered to Sir William Johnson who commanded the expedition after Prideaux's death. The Eng. repaired the Fortress & during the Revolution it was the headquarters of maurauding parties of tories & Indians. Prisoners taken up the war paths were brought here to run the

gauntlet & a premium was here given for scalps. The Tories were more inhuman than the Indians.

In 1796 it was surrendered to the Americans. Col. Smith commanded the fort at the time, He was also commanding officer of the British at the battle of Lexington. He served both at the opening & closing of the American Revolution. In the winter of 1813 & 14 Gen. M^cClure occupied Fort George a few weeks & burnt Newark now Niagara village. He then took shelter in Fort Niagara a short time.—Dec. 19th, 1813 the American garrison was surprised & taken by the British who held it till the close of the war. The villages of Lewiston & Niagara Falls were burned about this time. A scouting party burned all the houses along the road as far as 18 mile Creek including Judge Van Horn's mills. These acts were in retaliation of Gen. M^cClure's wanton

⁴ Until further notation, entries correspond to Haverford scans HC13-26052_001 to HC13-26052_063 in their Folder entitled Sept. 20, 1861 to Aug 13, 1862.

outrages on the other side of the river.

In 1826 Morgan was imprisoned in Fort Niagara before his final disappearance. The spirit of Anti Masonry may still haunt those locked up rooms for I did not enter them to see. Frightful stories are told of the dungeons in the Fort & a certain old well where the French held possession of it. "Black spirits & white; blue spirits & grey" may haunt it for aught I know. I only know that God's pure sunshine falls as lovingly on this ~~spot~~ old Fort as on the most hallowed spot in creation.

(It was in Sept. 1763 that a party of French & Indians destroyed a party of English at Devil's Hole, a few miles up the river. One little drummer boy was all that escaped.) I have Grandfather Lapham tell that when the [?] were driven over the bank the drummer was caught in a tree by his belt or strap and thus was saved.)

I would like to have lingered here awhile but the party hurried me away. On our return to our carriages in the grove we went in to the old burying ground of the Fort. It is in a dilapidated state. Epitaphs in English & French. I screened[?] one of Sergeant Amasa Snow who was buried here in 1829.

"Here lies brave Snow
Full six feet deep,
Whose heart would melt,
When caused to weep.
Though winter's blast
May freeze his frame,
Yet death's cold grasp
Can't chill his fame."

Others equally brave & famous no doubt have been buried there & have mingled with the dust of cowards the unknown. But "honor's voice cannot provoke the silent dust, Nor flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death. Even the tablet of Sergt Amasa Snow was

undermined & I sat upon it to record his epitaph, & none of our party was "so poor as to do him severance."

We repaired to the Hotel at Youngstown & some of our party left directly for home. Others staid to finish up the sights and have a little more fun. I was fortunate enough to be one of the latter. We crossed the river in two sail boats. This is the only way of crossing at present. There was once a good ferry boat, & Youngstown was a thriving business place. But now the mills, warehouses & other buildings are many of them unoccupied & going to decay. Business has mostly been transferred to Lewiston & Suspension Bridge, the two great travelled routes to Canada. It was a pleasant sail. We walked about a mile to Fort Massasanga on a point of land extending much further into the Lake than Fort Niagara. Here is a fine parade ground with not a tree to obstruct

the view. A sentinel was walking on the ramparts, but before we got to the fort he disappeared & was at the gate when we entered. The Fort is surrounded by a moat, by pickets, & by an earthen embankment, something in the shape of a star, & on each point of the star was planted a cannon & a pile of balls, looking like a huge torpid reptile with its eggs lying beside it. The planks on which there[?] rested & indeed all the wood work of the fort was much decayed. The pickets were falling down. There has been no garrison here for about 8 yrs. Three soldiers & their families live here, but hardly to take care of it, for it looks entirely neglected. In the center of the enclosure is a round stone structure with walls of immense thickness, how thick I cannot say as I did not measure them, but I am sure it is bomb proof. The lower part has no windows but the upper part had long narrow windows like those in Fort Niagara, but

they admit but little light the walls are so thick. ~~On~~ The top of this building, which of course is much higher than the embankments, is open, & here is mounted a large gun. A pyramid of balls lays beside it, & a furnace built in the wall for heating balls has evidently seen much service. Fort Niagara with its white walls glisten in the P.M. sun, & looking so innocently[?], might easily be demolished from this point. These are two commanding positions, & the time has been, & the time may come again when they will be two important positions. Several guns were ranged on the ground. All with a crown of [?] & some V.R. One bore the date of 1810. There are about 15 guns here in all including those on the ramparts.—

The prospect from the ramparts is very fine. I should not object to keeping sentry here, a part of the time at least.—When we entered the sentinel was at the gate. He carried a Minie rifle.

S&M never had seen one & they asked to look at it. The sentry said "not here, but go up there with me & I will show it to you," & he led the way to the top of this tower I have described. The walls rise some 7 or 8 ft. above the floor so that one cd. not see over without climbing.

Another soldier had gone up there to show me & others the furnace &c, & when we reached the top the sentry was explaining the Minie rifle to several gentlemen. An officer came right along behind us and & reprimanded the man very sharply for showing the rifle. "What are you doing here, sir? Is this the way you understand your duty, sir? Go down, sir." & the sentry disappeared about as quick as a projectile would have left one of those big guns. What petty tyranny the soldier often endures!

I was wishing for something tangible as a memento of my visit, & could

see nothing more desirable or appropriate than a cannon ball. Loose piles were lying around, & without the least intention of defrauding Queen Victoria of her possessions, I said to the polite machem[?] in a red shirt who accompanied us that I would like one of those to take with me. & that I had rather he wd. give me one than to have it sent to us in ~~any other~~ the usual way, &c. He laughingly said that he hoped they would have no occasion to send us any more; & that those were too large for me to take, but they had some 4 pounders below if I wanted one, &c. &c. I did want one & when we came down I saw a pile of different sizes a few yards off & asked if those were the 4 pounders, & should I go & get one? He didn't object & I went & picked out one & walked out with it & as I passed him I said I was much obliged for it. I heard no objection & saw nothing peculiar on his part, but

some of the company heard him say "I have no right to let her take that away." & when I passed out they said he held out his hand for it. of course had I observed this I should have returned it, for I did not care enough about it to take it against his wishes. After we started they told me he would be after me; & sure enough the red shirt soon appeared outside the walls of Fort Massasauga. I would not be a coward then and run; so I went on as unconcernedly as possible, occasionally glancing over my shoulder to see if we were pursued. In order to be brave or else because we were very tired, Julia F. & myself fell behind the rest, & she kept watch till at last he disappeared. I have since thought that he came out thinking I wd. return & give up the ball, & at last was ashamed to follow us any farther. At any rate I hope that

pleasant little red shirt will not suffer from the tyranny of his superior officer for my thoughtlessness. This I did not think of at the time, or I certainly should never have brought away any of Queen Victoria's munitions of war. Peace to the shades of her soldiers three, & eternal quiet to the dilapidated works of Fort Massasauga. But smaller affairs than this have been made a causa bellum, but I trust it will not lead to a rupture between the two nations, if so they may have their 4 pounder, & have it sent from Fort Niagara, too.

Had these balls been arranged as if for use in a well kept fort, & had they looked of any real consequence more than for play things for the children of wh. there were ever so many in the fort, I should not have thought of asking for one. But after all I suppose they are government property, & I would not deliberately

cheat John Bull any more than I would cheat Uncle Sam, if I could do it "ever so slick". "Pshaw, I'm not afraid, who cares[?]?" I shall look to the stars & stripes for protection, & Abe Lincoln must take the responsibility.

The village lies back from the River & we did not see much of it. The remains of old Fort George nearly opposite Youngstown we did not have time to visit. The sail back

took more than a half hour as the wind was unfavorable, but it was very pleasant except for those who had to work hard at the oars in order to get back at all as they did in the other boat. Tired enough I'll assure[?] you; but I had something to tell & to show to sisters A. & E. & a few others who remained at the Hotel.

About 6 we started for home & took the Lake road. This must be delightful by daylight & in warm weather but it was too dark to see much of it.

Got home about 10. It has been a lonesome day for Ella. She was not well enough to go. Theo. has gone to Fair at Johnson's Creek.—

Somerset, Saturday Sept. 21.

Rainy. Yesterday was the right day for the excursion.—Abner & Frances came about half way & stopped at Titus Arms[?]. They came here in the rain about noon, & about 3 went home. I have felt old & tired & used up, & only lounged about & read some, but Angeline has worked all day.

I am now anxious to be at home. Must start Monday if I can.

Sunday 22^d.

Fine, warm. Been on the house [?]. The Lake to day is "deeply, darkly, beautifully blue", & 13 schooners were to be seen at once, their white sails gleaming in the sunshine. If Minnie was here how she wd. enjoy it. Have been resting, reading & writing.—

Somerset Sept. 23d.

Morgan & Elizabeth called at Alfred's last evening & I went home with them & Julia Frances brought me back this morning. Ella went back with her to M's.

Company at Alfred's to day.

Theodore says he is going to enlist, & A. & Angeline feel badly about it. I have been talking with T. he feels badly too.

About 3 started for Abner's. Abner took Ella & I there, had a very pleasant ride. The weather is delightful & roads good. Tomorrow I intend to start for Rochester.

Tuesday 24th Sept.

Very fine weather. Put up my things, ironed for Frances, said good bye to Ella & about 3 went with Abner & Frances to Middleport. Got to R. about half past 5. Mary Julia was at the Depot. Hear that Father has been sick, but is better now. I must hurry home. Henry has been down here after a girl. Spent evening at store with Charlotte.

Rochester, Sept. 25th

Fine, warm. Did some chores. Called on Miss Martin & Mrs. Coleman & Anna Barnes & Uncle Esek at John R's. Cousin Ann is sick. All seem to have their troubles, sickness & death visit every family. Feel uneasy about home. I am excessively tired to night. Spent evening with Sis & Ned.

Tomorrow is Fast Day by public proclamation. Think I should stay & hear a sermon, & in the P.M. perhaps C. will go home with me.

Thursday Sept. 26th, 1861.

Fast Day. This A. M. heard Rev. J.D. Boardman at the new 2d. Baptist Church. Text Isaiah 26-9. "When thy judgements are abroad in the earth the people shall learn righteousness." Such a good text, but I am disappointed in the sermon. It was earnest, able, eloquent. "We should confess our sins individually, but Slave-holding was not one of our sins.

"California should not be asked to confess the sins of South Carolina." He utterly ignored our complicity with the accursed system & for aught that Mr. B. said the audience wd. never know think that we are "verily guilty concerning our brother." He specified several sins, "The frightful violation of the 7th Commandment, despising and neglecting the poor, not giving enough of our money to the support of foreign missions & circulating the Bible & for the aid of churches; nominating bad men for office; Sabbath breaking & profanity."

As a whole sermon it was unworthy Mr. B's reputation as a minister. Some parts of it were admirable, just like him when he is saying his best things. But now at this particular time, it was sadly defective. He seemed stricken with ministerial blindness on the great question of the day. Then, he takes a very gloomy view of national affairs. "He hates slavery, & the nation that cherishes the accursed system shall be visited by God's

wrath. Slavery shall be abolished & we may perish. The rebellion shall be crushed & we may be annihilated" in doing it, on account of those sins he specified.— He said it was the saddest day he had ever seen, & he seemed quite overcome by his feelings.— Prof. Cutling in his prayer spoke of the great sins of boastfulness, self-confidence & intemperance.— & at the close asked for wisdom to "deal with this" distressing question & hoped it would please God to set at liberty the servile population." Oh! dear, dear, what tender & gingerly handling of the "sum of all villainies."

Charlotte heard Mr. Van Ingen. Episcopal, preach to the soldiers. She says he preached over them & thinks they did not appreciate his discourse. It was not applicable nor appropriate.—

Esther heard Dr. Robinson at the first Baptist. He handles the great sin without gloves, comes square up to the subject & does not mince the matter at all. Slavery is the cause of the rebellion & the North as well as the South is answerable for the vile,

the wicked system & unless we come to the support of the Government now, & make an effort to preserve our liberty, we deserve to have Jeff. Davis rule over us.

Fast Day, that is young men on driving fast horses, & all others seem to be in use for C. cd. get none that was suitable for us to drive home. So I took the 5-40 train. Mr. Griffin

went to Depot with me & about dusk I was at Avon. It was raining some. Mr. A. Barber came up on the train, & kindly offered send me home in the buggy wh. came for him. This was so much better than going to Mr. Hartwell's in the Express & walking from there the next morning, as I had intended to do, that I accepted his offer. But it grew so dark that I sent the boy back when I reached Mr. Flansburg's & went in & asked Mr. F. to take a lantern & walk home with me. It was so dark I could see neither road nor home, & I thought it unsafe to ride farther.

So I found obliging people all the way. On the cars I met an old friend, C. L. whom I had not spoken to for years, and many old associations were revived.

It was 8 when I got home & our folks were all in bed. Father is quite well, but has been very sick.—Laura has been sick & Ann has been sick, they cd. get no girl, so if I had been here I could have had the privilege of doing all the work. Mother says she never had such a hard time before in her life. I asked why they did not send for me? They say "they expected me home every day, & did not know whether I was in S. or in R."

If my father had died I wonder if they would have sent for me?

On father's account I wish I had been at home, but on all other accounts I am glad I was away.—

Ann has been gone a week, & is to stay a while longer in Kendall I suppose. There is an Irish girl at work here.

Friday Sept. 27

Pouring rain all day. Henry left for K. to be gone a week. Seems quite like home to have them both away.

Found letters from Mary, & Henrietta & cousin Kath. & Cousin R. A. Carroll &c. Been waiting nearly a month for answers. So I have spent the days in hearing news & writing letters. Strange how much will happen in 7 wks. I have heard so much in R. & at home that I am almost confused, & the letters I have written to day must be rambling concerns[?]. I am tired & used up & wd. like to rest a few days.

Saturday Sept. 28.

Cool. Cleared off. Wrote to Frances. In P.M. called at Mr. H's & Alvira went with me to W. Avon for my baggage. Called at Mr. Winans. Met S. Winans from Canada who is a secessionist. Went to Burying ground. The shrubbery has not grown any this season.. The ground is as hard & dry.— but it is pleasant there.

It has rained a great deal & much damage has been done. The river is rising, but the roads are quick dry. The wind & sun have dried them.

Rush Sunday Sept. 29.

Cool. I have put away things & wrote. I have been in the garden too. Things looks afully thin. It will take several hard day's works to straiten it up again. Father & Laura have been to church.

Tuesday Oct. 1st.

Yesterday & today I have washed & ironed & made pickles & cleaned some & worked in garden, & am now very tired. There is so much that wants doing that I hardly know what to do first.—It is 82 weeks since I have seen my darling little one, & a long time since I have ever heard from her.

Thursday Oct. 3d.

Yesterday Father & Mother went to Rochester & I expect them home to night. For company I have had the Irishman & the Irish girl. Rather lonely last night. But there was no help for it. I fastened the doors & windows as well as I could, & for the first time as I remember I bolted the door of my sleeping room. But this morning every thing appeared as usual, & I slept

well under the circumstances last night. I worked in the garden most all of yesterday & it looks quite natural once more. The weather has been delightful yesterday & to day. As I am so much alone now I thought it would be a good time to write. So since 10 o'clock I have been writing out my rough notes in my journal. It has been quite a task for so many items of interest have accumulated in 7 wks.

Well, it is done & my hand & arm aches badly. It is about 5 & I am looking any moment for our folks home—

Saturday Oct. 5th, 1861.

Yesterday there were heavy showers. The brooks roar as they do in a spring freshet. I cleaned parlor & labelled the specimens I brought from the Falls & the Forts, & looked over the papers that accumulated in my absence & wrote to Elizabeth.

Our folks got back Thursday about dusk, went to J. Sutherland's in Pittsford. No particular news.

To day 4 yrs. ago Cousin E. Rapalje died, & Sister Sarah went to Rochester the last time.—Oh! dear, how many wretched days I have seen since then.

To day is sunny & cloudy & warm. This A.M. I did housework & went to the Falls. They are beautiful now, the stream is so large. There has been no frost yet, & the trees & fields look fresh & green. The landscape is very beautiful.

This P.M. I went to Harvey B's. Read letter from Joe. He is well. Has to do picket duty.—Hear that Freda is not well, that she has a cough. It is 92 wks. since she was taken from us. My precious little one.—

Letter from Ella, she intends to come to Rochester to day, & will come up to W. Avon Monday morning, & I am to go for her. Letter from Mary, she is well & Minnie talks of Aunty a great deal. How I would like to see them both.

Rush, Oct. 6th, 1861—Sunday.

Rained all day.—The rain a week ago did much damage, & this rain will add to it probably; railroads & bridges have been taken away. The Genesee is higher than it has been for many years before. I fear Ella will not come. I have been reading & writing letters. With nothing to do this would be a long lonely day, but with me it has been passed quickly.

Rush, Oct. 13th, Sunday.

How swiftly the weeks pass away! Last Monday went to W. Avon for Ella. She came from R. alone, & felt pretty well. Abner & Frances came to R. with her the Saturday before & went back the same day.

Tuesday, cousin Eliza W. & Libbie B. spent the day with us. We went to Falls. They have been very beautiful. The stream is about as large as during a spring freshet. Had a good visit with the girls. 83 wks. since I have seen my darling.

Wednesday. Went with Ella to Mr. Hartwell's & called at Lelands & Mr. Piersons.

Thursday. E. & L. Arner[?] here to dinner. Mrs. Bigelow & Euphemia here to tea. — Weather fine.

Friday. Ella & I went to Uncle J's & took dinner. Then to W. Avon to burying ground. I presume E. thought of the possibility of her being the next occupant. How little we know where another Oct. may find us. Those who think little of it now may be the next who will be laid there to rest beneath the shade of these old oaks.

We had a pleasant ride. Called at Wm. J. Harris's & then went to Uncle Ephraim's & staid all night. Henry came home today.

Saturday. Came back from Uncle E's.—The weather is quite unpleasant. Ella does not feel as well as she has done.

Sunday. It is squally & unpleasant. No body goes to church. Henry has gone to Henrietta for Ann. Ella intends to go to morrow & I am fixing to go to city with her.

Rush Sunday Oct. 20th,

Another week has gone!

On Monday it was fine & warm. I went to city with Ella. had a pleasant ride. Charlotte gone to New York,

Ella sat for her picture. She got very tired, but she was going to Middleport that evening as Abner & Frances intended to meet her there.—

(Ann came home before Ella left but she didn't speak to Ella—)

I saw Neddy but did not see Sis. Called on Mrs. Tippetts, rode home alone, got home about 7. fine moonlight evening & warm.—

More fighting in various places, but nothing that amounts to much.

During the rest of the week, I have washed, & ironed, cleaned parlor bedroom, regulated things about the house, cleaned dooryard, trimmed shrubbery, gathered nuts, &c., &c. Father & Laura have been to Mt. Morris & were gone three days.

Yesterday it was 94 weeks, since my darling Freda was taken from us. Oh! that I cd. know exactly how she is, & how she looks now, & whether she thinks of me yet!

To day I have been to church & heard Mr. E. preach a dull sermon. Small audience, In such times as these a man has no right to be dull, he has no right to preach unless he can keep his hearers awake. Mr. E. called here on Thursday. he remarked "that he never saw a place where there was so little public spirit as in Avon." No wonder the ministers do so little in keeping the people up with the times. It is their duty

to go forward & lead the people. Instead of this there is apparently no progress, no advance. at least so it seems to me.

Heard today that Revilo has been dangerously hurt from being thrown from a wagon. Am anxious to hear from him directly. This intelligence has disturbed me very much. If he should die it may make still worse my darling's future. I am harassed by indefinable fears & forebodings.

The war seems to make no progress. Charles Sumner in a speech at a republican meeting in Worcester, says we must "carry Africa into the war if we hope to smash the rebellion." He is the first public man in high station who has taken this ground, all honor to him, would that there were more such. Many people think there is no hope for success, while the rebels are permitted to hold their slaves, & it is certainly seems so to me..

It is said "that Seward's policy is to prevent any great battle till spring, & then both sections will by that time get sick of war & be ready for a compromise of the Slavery question& peace, & that he has succeeded in convincing the President of this. Factions are still retained in some of the departments according to the Investigating Committee, oh! dear, what half way work!

Rush Sunday 27th. Oct.

Another week of my life is gone & it has been a very busy one.

Have cleaned house some, & sewed some, & read some, & gathered some nuts, & wrote several letters.

Thursday I went to Avon & got letters from Ella & C. Post. E. is quite smart. Her health is improving & she got back to Abner's without being tired out.

Cousin C.P. says "they are sick of the war." & "she fears the country is ruined" & they

have peace meetings in Columbia Co." All this is a matter of course for it is an old foggy democratic district, always proslaver. Don't understand the A.B.C. of abolitionism.

I pity them, & am vexed with them too, for they might understand things better. I have sent C. 2 Standards, & if they will only read them, especially Dr. Cheevers articles. Saw Abner at Mr. Hartwell's. He is going back tomorrow. Theo. Van W's has not enlisted. Alfred & Angeline will not consent to it. Solomon Van W's son has enlisted & S. has told him never to come into the house again. oh! what people! Niagara Co. is more patriotic than some counties. It has furnished a fair proportion of men, & the women do all they can for the volunteers. Avon is just waking up & a mustering is to be held tomorrow evening to see what they can do towards furnishing things for the sick & wounded in the hospitals etc.

Revilo was not hurt as badly as we heard he was. He is so that he is out again, Have heard that Freda is well.

Friday had letter from Mary. She has a little boy, it was born Oct. 7th, & she is pretty well. Minnie is much pleased with her little brother. How I wd. like to be with them awhile, It seems too bad that Mary must be so far from us all & so much alone, I am very anxious about her.

Joe Van B. is well. He has moved his camp to Hunter's Creek, 2 miles from Alexandria. ~~& has moved again to Mt. Vernon—~~

No war news of importance.

But little frost yet. The fields look green but the leaves have partly fallen. The flower are going. The last one in a vase on my table. If I cd. only keep a few all winter. They wd. be so much company for me. To day father & mother have gone to meeting & I enjoy the day in reading & writing as usual.

Rush ~~Oct.~~ Nov. 3^d. 1861

A busy week has passed away. On Monday—I washed & ironed & sewed & read & was very tired.

Tuesday—I called at Mr. D's, & Mr. B's, & Mr. G's. & Mr. F's. Mr. Green's folks have seen Freda & she was then pretty well. They were passing. They did not go in but R. & Freda came out.

Mrs. G. remarked that "Freda looks like Minnie." Revilo asked "who is Minnie" & when they told him he asked "if Mary had gone back? & that was all that was said about any of us. Oh, dear. I had a crying spell of course. When they told me how my darling looked, & I thought how near they had been to her. It was 86 weeks since I had seen my dear little one,

Wednesday—helped clean sitting room, this is always a bad job. Ann does not attend to house cleaning at all.

Thursday—Helped clean large chamber & did various things.

Friday—did various things.

Ann had a flare up. & Henry has talked very hard—Such scenes are disgraceful. I detest them.

Saturday—Felt miserably. Sewed & read some. Father not very well for several days—Our troops have been defeated at Edwards Ferry & many of them wounded & killed. Someone is terribly to blame, for it was a rash, & ill advised affair on our part. Col. Baker was killed.

The Great Naval Expedition has at last sailed for the South. More than 100 vessels belong to it. The description of it is deeply interesting, & great results are expected from it. The press has not been allowed to publish anything about it until it was ready to sail. & they said under sealed orders. We shall see!

To day Sunday Mother & I went to church. Father was not well enough to go. A tedious sermon from El. Nott, Called at Dr. B's for medicine for father, Letter from Joe Van B. He is at Hunting Creek, 2 miles south of Alexandria. & he gives a particular description of his camp life wh. is very interesting.

Towards evening Cyrus & Eliza called. Henry & Ann have been away.

I am anxious to hear from Mary again.—Read Standard. Many people are indignant at the injustice done Fremont. If he is superseded it will be a sad time for us. It seems as if Lincoln & Seward willfully shut their eyes to what is passing in the land. Things look discouraging.

When they will end heaven only knows. For the sake of the Republican party I hope Lincoln will show himself equal to the station he occupies & disappoint his enemies,

Rush Sunday, Nov. 10th 61

A very busy week again.

Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday sewed all I could. Thursday walked over to Leland's & staid all night.

Friday morning walked to Mr. Hartwell's & sewed for Alvira. In P.M. visited A. H. Wiands. My old friend Mrs. Donner has lately become a wife & step-mother in Mr. W's home. She seems very pleasantly situated & I hope she will be happy. Had a pleasant visit with the family.

(This morning walked home & am very tired.)

Yesterday went with Mary T. to Aunt H's & Mrs. Landon's. When we started to come away our horse was fractious & unmanageable. Mary succeeded in holding him & proved herself a good horsewoman. I jumped from the buggy into a very soft place & all the harm I received was wetting my feet & getting some muddy. Mary kept in the buggy till help came & the horse was subdued & she

started for home but I was afraid to ride with her & was starting to walk, but I had a chance to ride with Mr. & Mrs. Wiand. She got home safe but quite exhausted with fright & driving the horse. It is a wonder we were not capsized or wrecked.

I staid at Mr. H's last night.

The Great Expedition has been heard from, it has been somewhat disturbed by storms, & had attacked Port Royal on the Coast of S. Carolina with what success we do not know yet.—Gen. Scott has resigned & McClellan takes his place.

Report of battle in Missouri & defeat of rebels. Report that Floyd has been routed in W. Va.— Unless the Expedition does something worth while, people will be discouraged with the course of the government.

I am so tired after my long walk that I do not feel like reading or writing.

I do so want to hear from Mary again,

Rush - Sunday Nov. 17th, 61

Winter weather has come, rain wind & little snow make it unpleasant outdoors. Have accomplished but little through the week. Have been quite unwell; my long walk last sunday was quite too much for my strength & a lame hand & arm in addition has put a veto on work.—

No letters from Mary or Somerset. I fear M. is sick & she does not mean to write until she is entirely well. I have no heart to write to anybody. I have read & re-read all our papers & can get no late ones. We hear that the fleet has taken Beaufort with a great deal of property, forts &c. The forts were abandoned & the whites all left the town & shot some of the negroes who refused to go with them The negroes are overjoyed. All the crops fall into the hands of our troops. I am impatient

to read about it, but as we have no daily paper I will try to wait.

Our troops in the west have gained a victory over the rebels at Pikeville, Ky, & at Belmont, Mo.

Sustained a sad loss, so it goes.—

Bloody fight at Guyandotte Va.

Nov. 20th. 1861

Had several bright, cold days, roads good,

I work but little. Do not feel well at all. Monday P.M. I went with Mother to Avon, Called on Mr. Winans & Mr. Batchelor's &c. got papers containing particulars of taking Port Royal, Beaufort & it was a complete success. But it causes no more rejoicing than the taking of Mason & Shidell & bringing them to Fort Monroe. These men were on their way to Eng. & France. They left Charleston on the ~~Nashville~~ Theodora which ran the blockade, but was taken from a British Steamer Rent in the Bahama Channel by Com. Wilkes.—The South is awfully vexed at the Captain of these rebel Commissioners. But we have some good luck yet,

Yesterday I walked up to Harvey B's. I have a new flagstaff. hope I shall be able to make my flag soon. I want to see the Stars & Stripes waving again. My hand & arm are not well yet so that I can sew much. It is very tedious to sit idle so much when there is so

much that I want to do. We have fine weather for November, but the cold winter will soon be here. No letters yet from Mary or Ella,
Yesterday A. Barber was here to talk about buying a part of father's farm.
It seems too bad to have any of the land sold, but father thinks it best to do so.
Sunday Nov. 24th
Mild weather. Feel better, sewed all day yesterday, hand lame yet.
Friday went to Uncle Ephraim's. No letter yet from Mary. I don't know what it means. I am very uneasy about her. Ann has been away since Wednesday

but I suppose Henry has gone to Henrietta after her today. Father & Mother have gone to meeting. I would like to be in R. next Thursday so that I could hear a Thanksgiving sermon & hear Edward Everett Lecture. I shall try to be there.

Wednesday Nov. 27th,

At Mr. Winan's,

Mother came here with me this morning but I was too late for the train & am to stay till tomorrow morning. I have to the Burying ground, & have read the papers. We have the promise that something will happen before long, but the army on the Potomac is quite inactive now.—Letter from Mary at last. She is well & gets along comfortably, Also long letter from Mary Julia.—

Mary expects to be alone this winter. I wish I could be with her awhile, & how I would like to see Minnie Van too! I must write to Joe again soon.

Rochester Nov. 28th, 1861

Thanksgiving

Left Avon at 9 1/2 a.m. & reached C's at 11. Too late to go to church, all well.
In P.M. went out to see Col. Crooks' Cavalry Regiment take their departure for Washington, It seemed that half of the city was out to see them. They were escorted by the Union Blues & there were six little drummer boys in uniform.

Women walked close by the sides of their friends in the column & some were seen to slip bottles of liquor in to their hands. As a consequence some were drunk when they reached the depot, & were dragged on to the cars. It was very affecting to see some of those rough looking men take leave of their friends, wives & sisters clinging to them till the last minute, & many a sad heart left the depot that night. Some for their homes & some for the distant camp, & many probably, took their last look of each other then.

This were between 800 & 900 & it was imposing sight as well as an interesting one, as they marched through the streets. Then I tried to take in the idea of 70,000 men in uniform infantry, cavalry & artillery; but I probably have no idea of it. At the grand review a few days since across the Potomac there were 70,000 men & Gen. McClellan 'does the thinking & planning' for all these!

How I wd. like to go to Washington & see those warlike preparations, the men, the munitions of war, the fortifications & all that pertains to the [?] field; & then, there will be an exciting session of Congress, how I would like to look in upon it a few times. It is very inconvenient to be poor. If I was only in a way to earn money as I once was I would go. But I suppose the wisest way for me is to confine my wishes within my means & try to be content.—

This cavalry regiment do not get their horses until they reach Washington.

This evening went with Mr. Griffin & Charlotte & Miss Baldwin to hear Edward Everett on the Character & Tending[?] of the War. The Hall was jammed full. He is a fine looking old man & stands straight enough, although he has been accused heretofore of wanting a back bone. His delivery is graceful & precise. His words well chosen & eloquent are enunciated clearly. But knowing his antecedents I felt that there was not much heart behind those eloquent pen[?], those patriotic outbursts.

You would not gather from his words that Slavery was the cause of the war, or that it was an evil in our land, or that he hated it to any extent. No. "The South loves power & as she cannot rule she likes to ruin." He did not behind the scene[?] he did not come to the root of the matter. He did allow that if the South separated from us Slavery would come to an end

but he showed no pleasure at the idea of being rid of the vile system. It was all Union with him, he looks at the war in a political view, in a commercial view, with its moral bearings, its humanitarian aspects he has nothing to do. Therefore he seems to me cold, passionless, not a live man. For I suppose he is the same Everett that said "There is nothing he would do with more pleasure than to buckle on his knapsack & go South to put down an insurrection of the Slaves," "Bell & Everett"! Of course they were alike in politics or they wd. not have been on the same ticket. Now John Bell is part & parcel of the rebels. Everett stands by the Union, but whether he we. Sacrifice slavery to save it, this [?] knowing does not say.

But it is a privilege to listen to a man like him. He is a scholar, an orator & a man of marked ability & forms part of our history & it is well to know all such even if we think they come short of the demands of the times.

Rochester Nov 29th.

Dined with Mrs. Colman & spent 2 or 3 hours very pleasantly. She gave me a piece of crystal brought from Fairfax Church where Washington was married. Also some maple sugar made in North Elba by John Brown's wife Mary.

Fremont & his wife & daughter, several officers, & Gen. Jim Lane passed through the city to day on their way to New York.

F. Douglass was on the same train. He says Jessie appears to be a very devoted wife & it was worth five dollars to see Jim Lane sleep. Mrs. C. told me much interesting news about the times & about anti slavery folks.

This P.M. went to S. Cornell's. Met M. Hallowell & Mrs. Willis. had pleasant visit.—

Saturday Nov. 30

I spent last night with Anna Barnes. This morning she went with me to Institute.

It was very tiresome & it seemed like lost time. Saw but few teachers that I knew. Towards night went to Cousin J. Rapalje's & was so tired after so many long walks. It is 100 weeks since my darling was taken from us & no hope of seeing her yet.

Rochester, Dec. 1st.

Sunny & cold. Staid at John's last night. Went to new Brick Church, very fine house, It was their Communion Season, so I left before the services closed.

Read "Neighbor Jackwood" a good anti-slavery story. Wanted to hear Giles Hobbins this evening on Slavery, but it was so Stormy I did not go out.

Monday Dec. 2^d.

Staid at C.'s last night. —Congress met today. Called on Miss Walker & on Mrs. Hall at No. 11. The school looks natural & pleasant. but it seems to me that I can never teach again. I have but little energy or ambition left to do anything.

Went to Uncle Esek's. Aunt Maria is alone I had a long walk & it is cold.

Rochester Dec. 3^d

Came from Uncle E's. this morning. This P.M. went to Mrs. Angle's & spent 2 or 3 hrs. very pleasantly. This evening went with Mr. Griffin & Charlotte to hear Beecher on "The Camp & the Country." Lecture was first rate. Unlike Everett he went right in to the merits of the case. He said there was no use of missing the matter. Everybody knows that Slavery is the cause of the war." Slavery said it would govern, Liberty said it would govern & Slavery should not. He said "all the Military education we had ever had was the privilege of laughing at the militia 2 or 3 times a year."

He learns from the New Testament that war is right. That we should fight to preserve Liberty & free institutions & our homes & our firesides. Explained his ideas

of peace & war. "War is God's medicine chest" When we become too wicked he permits war as a punishment. "He is a Quaker in all but the doctrine & spirit." Yet he gave them a great deal of credit. The Quakers now are the most belligerent class in community. Told about that Quaker Company in Pennsylvania. He was alive & earnest as ever. Says that war will be the end of Slavery.

He lectured as per the invitation of the ladies of the Brick Church. I was glad they had to hear so much of A. Slavery & Dr. Shaw too. I was afraid he wd. go into the Emancipation

question, for he has said that he would not have the slaves set free during the war. It should be done in a time of peace. But he did not give his reason on this point, but it was all anti slavery & first rate. & I was agreeably disappointed.—
After lecture went with Mrs. G. & C. to Mrs. Woods to spend the rest of the evening. Had some nice music. but her card playing I like no better than I ever did.

12 o'clock when we got home & I was so tired. Tomorrow morning early I must leave for home. I have been away longer than I intended, but I have had a pretty good time. It seems good to see a little of the world again. & come in contact with friends, once more. I have seen but little of Mary Julia & Neddy, when Neddy is not in school he is out to play. Sis is absorbed in worsted work, & other trifling things, I think she does no useful work. & only reads frivolous & light reading.

I have not had much of a visit with her, there was so much going on, she was out or else had company most all the time. I wish they both could be taught systematic & useful habits, & be disciplined comfortably.

Wednesday Dec 4th,

Staid at C's. Left before they were up to take the early train. very cold this morning
Took dinner at Mr. Winans & then he

brought me home. Mother came for me on Monday, but as she did not meet me, she wd. not come for me again, even when she had to go to East Avon to day. I should be ashamed to have Mr. & Mrs. W. know this, I don't wish them to know how little my folks care for me.—

When I came home about 2 father & mother had gone to Uncle Jephtha's & it looked lonely enough here.—I put away my things & took a bath & cleaned up, for I cannot keep myself in order when I am away from home. This evening read for father, The President's Message is received. He proposes the acquisition of territory to colonize the colored people when they are free, but I think he only means those that are confiscated from the rebels, & the already free colored people. —Congress begins about right[?]. bills in relation to slavery will be presented soon. Several members have given notice to that effect. They don't seem inclined to put

off the subject. I think the question must be met.—Seward said that “in 10 days we would rejoice at great news,” some fighting —Col. Kerrigan is sentenced to be shot.—Gordon the Capt. of a slaver is sentenced to be hung on the 7th of Feb.

Letter from Eliza Van W. all well. Ella is there & quite smart.

Rush, Thursday Dec. 5th,

Fine. Father & Henry have been to city; they bring back no particular news. Father bought a new hat, & a buffalo robe for \$6,50.

While I was away Henry had another flare up. He talked terribly I am told, I wonder how long father will bear it. I am ashamed of Henry. He disgraces all the family.

Sunday Dec. 8th,

Rainy. Father & Mother been to church, yesterday & day before I wrote letters & sewed some. Now I want to go to Uncle E's & sew for Aunt E. This P.M. fine. have read & written some. It is lonesome here.

Rush Saturday Dec. 14th

Have been to Uncle Ephraims for 4 days past. Mother took me over there Monday P.M., I have sewed all the time. Today I have washed & ironed & wrote to Mary, Cyrus brought me home last evening. Our folks have butchered[?] this week, The weather has been remarkably fine for the time of year. bright & warm, No particular war news. Congress is legislating upon Slavery, & it looks now as if something would be accomplished. Some fighting, but no great battle yet.

Sunday Dec. 22^d, 1861

Fair day but cold. fine through the wk. till Friday. Another week has quickly gone. I have done some chores, but have sewed most of the time for Aunt E.—

On Wednesday the Winegar girls & their Uncle Ira came & were here till Saturday morning. I did not fill all the time in visiting but our folks all behaved pretty well.

Letters from Ella & Henrietta & Kate. E is quite well, & so is Wm. Penn's family. Cousin Kate in Quincy is so near the war she sees something of it. Cousin Alonzo is in the Quarter Master's department in Hannibal Mo. The rebels have threatened to burn Quincy & when the river freezes over they could easily do it.

No particular news except the fire in Charleston, a great part of the city is destroyed, whether by accident or otherwise is not known.

Great excitement in Eng. on the news of Mason & Slidell's arrest. Some say Eng. will ask us to give up the rebels, & sour[?] will ensue. But it seems to me they will know better than to go to war with us.

Rush Dec. 25th 1861

Christmas (Wednesday) has come again. Two years ago today Freda was here, & every day I feared she would go, oh! such an anxious time. The little innocent thing knew nothing of

my suffering. Oh! that I could see her this day! that I cd. even know where she is & just how she is! Two years! Many things in relation to us she has probably forgotten entirely, she has no one to help her remember us, but she has many to help her to forget us. How long must it be!

This day brings happiness to many. It has been quiet here. I have done considerable work. Henry & Ann have been away. & I have thought of the time when my brothers & sisters were at home & Sarah was at the head of household affairs. The recollection of her looks,

her words, her actions has been with me all day. I can almost see her & hear her. Is her spiritual presence near me to day that I am thus impressed? Oh! dear. Oh! dear. She is gone from my sight I cannot be reconciled to her death. I cannot see that it is right.

Letters from Mary in Michigan & Joe in Virginia, five miles from Alexandria. Mary is very well & so is Minnie & baby. She is comfortable in every respect only Joe is not with her.

Joe is well, has got rid of his cold, & seems to be in good spirits.—he has sent Mary some bullets that were shot at him by the rebel pickets.—he has sent me a leaf of holly tree which was planted by Washington. He says they may leave there in two days & they may stay there all winter. Nobody knows what they will do. The letters have done me much good. They have been a pleasant feature in my Christmas.

I wish Sis & Ned could be here today. Paper is very newsy, some federal success—talk about war with Eng. Prince Albert is dead. & Gen. Scott is returning from Europe &c. &c.

On Sunday night it snowed some, it is quite cold, but bright & fine today, I have been busy since Sunday in washing & ironing & fixing over my gray dress, trying to modernize it, &c.

Sunday Dec. 29th. 1861

Sunny. mild. Sleighs have run a little, Since Wednesday have been sewing most of the time. Fixed my merino dress &c. &c. My wardrobe is getting reduced & I can afford to get nothing new. A Sontag is all that I have bought this fall or winter. However, it gives me but little uneasiness[?] yet, I am good at repairing & fixing over. I must do without things while I am earning nothing.

Yesterday drove to Avon & the P. Office, ride did me good. Prince Albert is dead. The Eng. are sending troops & munitions of war to Canada. Many people think there will be war with Eng., others think that the difficulty will be settled without war. We shall see.

Rush. Dec. 31st. 1861

The Eve of a New Year! Yes, there will be a new date for the morrow. & so adieu to 1861. There are many happy groups gathered this evening. but to others the event brings no joy. It brings none to me. I am thankful for the blessings I have, & they are many when compared to those of some others. I do not mean to be unmindful of the good things I have. Yet this day, to me is the saddest of all this year. The anniversary of a living trouble. Two years ago that darling child was removed from my care, from the home where she had run so happy, to try a new home among strangers, to begin to know what it is to be a motherless child. oh! dear. May God temper the wind to the shorn lamb. & bless her accordingly for her own & for her mother's sake.

Could I know that she is happy,
Could I know that she loves me yet,

Oh! the thought is very hard to bear,
That she her friends forget.

Two years has passed away, & she probably thinks but little of us now, for she is but a child, & a child is easily diverted & made to forget. I presume she hears no allusion made to any of us. She may remember yet who gave her some of her playthings. but she will in time forget us all unless she sees us.

Two weary years have passed away,
years full of grief & sadness,
And left no hope how ever slight,
of future joy & gladness.

Tis just two years ago today
Since the cruel blow was given
Since Freda found another home.
And from these arms was riven.

How dear to me Sarah's child
They never seemed to know;
Else, how would they so cruel be
To one who loved her so?

That they could keep her from me,
From her friends so near & dear,
'Twas too unjust to think of,
'Twas too absurd to fear.

Indeed, I could not then believe
They could do this cruel wrong,
I counted all the days & hours,
And oh! they seemed so long.

When I could wait no longer,
I went to her new home,
They did not make me welcome
Did not say I must not come.

For a few short moments only
Was she held in my embrace—
But for days & weeks it haunted me,
That little sober face.

I saw she was not happy
And she needed better care;

The joyous look that once she wore
Now seemed a stranger there.

They took her from my presence,
Sad enough I sought my home,

'Twas then my brain grew almost wild
~~I seemed turning all~~ My heart seemed turned to stone

Two months I hoped & waited,
Oh! I was sorely tried,
I felt that I must see her,
I could not be denied.

I went & saw my darling,
Held her in my arms awhile
I heard her pleasant voice again,
Saw the familiar smile.

Oh! these were precious moments,
She now seemed more at home,—
But soon they made me understand
That there I must not come!

The hard & cruel words they said
In my ears are ringing yet,
The treatment that I then received,
I never can forget,

Grandpa has tried to see her,
But his efforts were in vain
They mean that she shall never see
Her mother's friends again.

I've known the meaning of the words,
"A child without a mother"
To me they are more fraught with woe,
More sad than any other,

For many ~~sad~~ long & weary years
I've lived without a mother;
I have seen in that dear loved one's place,
One stranger, then another.

T'is seldom that a word I hear
From her I love so well,

How very hard this is to bear,
No words of mine can tell.

I've waited ~~long & patiently~~ now for two long years.
For better times to come.
They come not —and I cannot say
Thy will oh! Lord be done.